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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 146



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PARTY AND STATE

'SEPARATION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT' EXPLAINED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 4

[Party Members' Mailbox Column: "The 'Separation of Party and Government' Aims at Strengthening Party Work"]

[Text] May the "Separation of Party and Government" Weaken Party Work?

Dear Comrade Editor:

Recently, we the lower basic level, began to understand that some of the comrades engaged in party work are very much concerned about the "separation of party and government" when they are studying documents of the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. Some of the comrades are worrying about whether party work will be weakened or even be minimized after the separation of party and government. It is understood that a great number of the leading cadres of the grass-roots level party organizations think this way. We hope that an answer will be given in the special column "Party Life."

Dai Beijun [2071 0271 6511], a Communist Party member of the Political Department of the Provincial Economic Commission.

Dear Comrade Dai Beijun:

Your letter has been forwarded to us by our editorial department asking us to speak out our viewpoint on this question. We have learned from practice: Since the separation of party and government, party work has not been minimized, nor has it been weakened, but on the contrary, it has been strengthened.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have preliminarily practiced the separation of party and government. All administrative work of and important technical problems encountered in scientific research are studied and resolved by the director in charge of division of labor, and by the regular academy council and the administrative meeting chaired by the director. It is in this way that our general party branch has been relieved from specific professional work to make it possible to implement party lines, principles, and policies, to play an exemplary vanguard role of a party member, and to unite and organize the masses of cadres within and outside the party, striving for the accomplishment of the mission of our unit in a realistic way. We at first concentrated our efforts

to look after party members of the whole institute. We encouraged and supported them in bringing about professional and technical innovations and creations to enable party members to give full play to their role in their respective posts. At present, 25 of the 45 party members of the whole institute hold leading positions at all levels and have become the mainstay of the institute. For the purpose of making the leading groups at all levels young, knowledgeable and specialized, we have successively promoted 14 intellectuals to leading posts at institute and division (section) levels to fully develop their initiatives and thereby guaranteeing the development of scientific research work. In recent years, 20 achievements have been won by us one after another, and 5 of them filled the gaps of our country. Our institute has been successively elected to both the provincial and municipal "advanced unit of scientific research" and "red flag unit." Last February, the general party branch of our institute was rewarded a certificate of merit of "the fighting fortress having brilliant exploits in the four modernizations."

Since the separation of party and government, our general party branch has been relieved of some routine duties, making it possible for it to concentrate its efforts on conscientiously working on political ideology of party members and on supervision of organization. This is to penetrate ideological work into scientific research activities in order to ensure that scientific research work is carried out smoothly. We have conscientiously worked on party member education, for which the system of learning at party schools has been reinstated. At the same time, what the party members and the masses think are usually analyzed so that ideological work can be done without delay. A division chief in charge of special subjects, who has for long been comparatively practical and hardworking, has for a certain period of time become dispirited. He showed no interest in monographic experiment, and progress in it was directly affected. At first, we tried to talk to him in person, but that produced little effect. Later on, we found the reason through a thorough investigation and study. We then acted to "suit the remedy to the case," and his ideological problem was quickly resolved. At a later time, this director of special subjects achieved better results in experiments. In the course of doing a good job in ideological work, care has been taken to help solve practical problems of the masses by paying attention to protecting their economic interests in an effort to improve their material as well as cultural life. Party organizations have in this respect played their part in promoting and guaranteeing practical work. In the past 2 years, our institute has built 2,000 square meter family quarters with self raised funds, in addition to renovation of the old houses, which helped relieve 50 households of dwelling problems, and bachelor workers are provided with separate rooms. The dining room has been renovated, and the mess hall has been put in order. A nursery is provided to take care of the children of workers and staff members. Grain supply centers and briquette shops are coordinated to deliver grain and coal door to door. A total of seven married couples living in two different places have been reunited through our help. These are the 10 good deeds we have accomplished successively. And all of these have directly aroused the enthusiasm of the masses.

In short, the separation of party and government is not to minimize the work of party organizations, or to deprive or weaken party leadership, but rather to avoid over concentration of authority. By doing so, leading cadres of the party can be relieved from routine duties, bureaucracy can be overcome, and party work can be strengthened. This is an excellent measure for improving and strengthening party work.

Party General Branch, Hangzhou Institute of Chemical Engineering

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTION BEGINS IN HAINAN

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Pan Qiongxiang [3382 8825 7160], deputy secretary of the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and head of the Election Work Office of the Hainan Prefectural People's Government: "Do a Good Job of County-Level Direct Elections, Strengthen Political Power"]

[Text] In accordance with the "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" adopted and proclaimed by the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC, and the instructions of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and the Guangdong Provincial People's Government, the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and the prefectural government have basically concluded county-level direct elections in three selected counties, notably Qionghai, Qiongzhong and Wenchang. Using their experiences as a guide, the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and the Hainan Prefectural People's Government are preparing to hold similar elections in other counties of the prefecture, and to bring them to a successful conclusion. The holding of the county-level direct elections is a very significant step in spurring the personnel of the state organs to adopt the viewpoint of the masses more consciously and firmly, and to serve the people in a better way, and in inspiring the people to work hard for the realization of the four modernizations. Various county and municipal party committees must fully understand its significance, draw lessons from those selected counties' experiences in holding elections, and effectively strengthen their leadership in order to elect deputies to the people's congresses and county-level leading groups welcomed by the masses.

The experiences of the three selected counties--Qionghai, Qiongzhong and Wenchang tell us that conscientiously doing a good job of training cadres is a key to success in holding county-level direct elections. The election work which involves policies and laws is a complicated process that cannot be successfully concluded without securing the services of a large number of cadres skilled in this work. For this reason, the election work must begin with a crash program to train the cadres of counties, municipalities, communes (townships), brigades (neighborhoods), production teams and state organs in charge of the election work, and to help them grasp the basic spirit of the "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" and understand the significance of the election work and related regulations and approaches. Various selected constituencies have successfully concluded the training of cadres who form the backbone of the election work force. A total of 8,182 such cadres were trained in Qionghai County; 92 percent or more of brigade- and production-level cadres there have undergone training in the election process. Qiongzhong County has completed the training of 2,000 cadres, two-thirds of whom are a minority nationalities. These cadres have played a great role in bringing the elections to a successful conclusion. They have

learned to strictly observe the laws and have actively persuaded the voters to go to the polls. After the elections were over, they organized the newly elected deputies to contact the masses and gather proposals from them. It is this election work force that should be relied upon to bring the elections to a successful conclusion.

A propaganda and educational campaign must be launched to make the "two laws" widely known to the masses and to teach those in charge of the election work to strictly observe the laws. The new "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" which draw their essence from China's 30-year experiences in this field form a guideline for expanding socialist democracy and for strengthening political power for this new historical period. The majority of the constituencies of the selected counties have permeated the entire election process with a propaganda drive to educate the voters in the "two laws," and have learned to apply the "two laws" as a guideline for mobilizing, organizing and inspiring the cadres and people to increase their consciousness of the need to enforce and defend the "two laws." During the elections, the provisions of the "two laws" dealing with the functions of the election organs, the division of constituencies, the registration of the eligible voters, the nomination and recommendation of candidates, the election of deputies, the convention of the county people's congresses and their standing committees and the formation of the leading groups of the county people's governments have been strictly observed by cadres in charge of the election work, who have been praised by the masses for a job well done.

A successful county-level direct election means giving full play to socialist democracy and realizing the aspirations of the voters. In other words, socialist democracy holds a key to success in elections. When the elections were being held in the three selected counties, many constituencies gave the masses the privilege of deciding who were qualified to run for deputies, in addition to providing them with opportunities to fully exercise their democratic right and to freely express their will. During the county-level direct elections, more candidates than the actual number to be elected were nominated, so that the voters could choose the ones they liked most as their representatives to form the county and commune-level leading groups. In short, elections provide a good opportunity to educate cadres and the masses. Following elections, Huang Yongkun [7806 3057 0981] of the Li nationality, director of the Heping commune general factory, Qiongzong County, has been unanimously nominated by the newly elected deputies to be the chairman of the commune executive committee for his energetic and professional performance and "dedication to the four modernizations." This has come after the deputies turned down a suggestion from the commune executive committee to appoint a deputy secretary of the commune party committee to that position. The elections that took place in the selected counties emphasized not only the advanced character of deputies but also the broadness of their representation. Following a process of nominating and recommending candidates and repeated consultations about their qualifications for running for the deputies to the people's congresses, the masses in Wenchang County have elected 516 deputies, of whom 377 are party members, accounting for 65.3 percent; 179 are representatives without party affiliation accounting for 34.7 percent; 112 women accounting for 21.7 percent. Representatives of educators, public health workers, scientists and technicians, urban dwellers, industrialists and businessmen, democratic parties, retired servicemen, families of martyrs, returned overseas Chinese, compatriots of Taiwan origin and Kuomintang personnel who have defected to our side also account for a specific percentage of the total.

A successful county-level direct election does not mean neglecting the development of the four modernizations program and interrupting the current process of production. The primary aim of the county-level direct election is to bring democracy into full play, strengthen the political power, and mobilize the broad masses to enthusiastically work for the realization of the four modernizations with one mind and one heart. For this reason, we must make the election go hand in hand with production. Great efforts have been made by the three selected counties to combine the election with production, and to insure that production would not be interrupted by the election. During the election, the responsibility was evenly divided among all units concerned in the county, communes and brigades and was discharged by them under the guidance of a unified leading group so that both the election and production could go on simultaneously. Production was emphasized by Qionghai County as its central task during the election. In other words, the election was held in close coordination with production; workers were organized to spend spare time engaging in the election campaigns. As the election progressed, Qionghai County called on the cadres and people to promote production and to greet the opening of the county people's congress with outstanding achievements in production. As a result, it succeeded in promoting not only production but also other work as well. To bring the county-level direct elections to a successful conclusion, party and revolutionary committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the election work. As everyone knows, our election work has been suspended for years as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At the same time, we must confess that the provision of the "Electoral Law" dealing with the county-level direct election in which more candidates can be nominated than the actual number to be elected is new to us. For this reason, this election work should be listed as an important item on the agenda of party and revolutionary committees at all levels. To make the election proceed without a hitch, every county party committee is advised to nominate one of its secretaries or deputy secretaries to head its election committee, which must be formed by responsible comrades of various departments concerned, social figures without party affiliation and PLA representatives in accordance with Guangdong Province's related regulations. The election committee must go into operation immediately after its inauguration. Under the committee there should be an executive office with staff transferred from other departments concerned. Two or three able and competent comrades must be selected to head this office. At the same time, a considerable number of cadres must be selected by the county party committee to help communes lay the groundwork for the elections. Cadres in charge of the election work must be organized to study the "Electoral Law" and "Organic Law" until they can understand and enforce the laws. Only in this way can they resolutely act according to the laws, struggle against their violators and defend the sanctity of the judicial power. Before the county-level direct election begins, every county or municipality is advised to try it out in one of its communes and then conscientiously sum up and extend its experiences to other communes through meetings attended by responsible persons of their election committees.

Some cadres and people now seem to be losing interest in our election process since it has been suspended for so many years, and after watching democracy and the legal system trampled under foot during the 10 years of catastrophe. For this reason, we must educate the people in the basic spirit of the "Electoral Law" and make it widely known to every household in connection with the election campaigns. At the same time, an educational program must be instituted in order to overcome factionalism, sectarianism and all forms of interference that have emerged in the election process; those who have taken a scornful attitude toward the election must be severely criticized, along with violators of the "Electoral Law," in order to insure success

in the election. Every propaganda department, newspaper and radio station must also play a role in educating the public in the "Electoral Law," and strengthen the ideological education of cadres in this field. We must do a good job of registering the voters in order to get more of them to go to the polls on the election day. Serious and conscientious efforts must be made by cadres in charge of the election work to register the voters and verify their eligibility in accordance with the related regulations. Various ways of registration must be devised at their convenience. The eligible voters should be registered on a unit-by-unit basis and their names must be listed and posted at public places in individual constituencies not later than 30 days before the election day. After their names are posted, eligible voters must be mobilized to verify whether there are any errors and duplicates or any eligible voters whose names are left out. When schools are closed for vacations, their registration of voters can be postponed until students return. Every possible effort must be made to urge voters to go to the polls on the election day. A successful election depends on how many voters will go to the polls on the election day. The returns on the elections in the selected counties of our prefecture indicated a lower turnout rate than that in other selected counties of the province. In some constituencies of the three selected counties, only 60 percent of voters showed up at the polls on the election day. Furthermore, absent voters must be allowed to cast their ballots by proxy, or are advised to return to their original units before the voting date. Before the election day, absent voters who are away from home on business trips should be contacted and informed about the elections through newspaper advertisements or by correspondence. More polls must be set up or even polls on wheels should be devised for the benefit of the voters in the sparsely populated rural areas on the election day. These are the only effective ways we can devise to get 95 percent or more of voters out of their homes and cast their ballots at the polls on the election day.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MASSSES URGED TO RECOMMEND CANDIDATES FOR LEADING POSTS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[News report by Li Shitai [2621 0013 1132] and He Shizhong [0149 0057 1813]: "CCP Committee of Kai County Urges People To Nominate Cadres to Leading Positions"]

[Text] The CCP Committee of Kai County has departed from past practice and followed the mass line in selecting and appointing cadres to leading posts. At its urging, party members and people throughout the county have been mobilized to recommend able and competent candidates for positions such as secretary and deputy secretaries of the county party committee, chairman and vice chairmen of the standing committee of the county people's congress and head and deputy heads of the county people's government.

Kai County will hold its next party congress and people's congress in late October and December, respectively. During the party congress, a new county party committee will be elected. When the county people's congress is in session, new members will be elected to its standing committee and a new county people's government will be formed. In order to encourage resourceful people to enter government service, to appoint outstanding cadres to the leading posts and to speed up the tempo of the four modernizations, the county party committee has called on party organizations at all levels and mobilized party members and people to fully exercise their democratic right to recommend candidates for the county party committee, the county people's government. The county party committee has also emphasized the need to appoint to leading posts those robust, long-tested, and outstanding young cadres of fine ideological and political standing who are armed with professional knowledge and able to provide fine leadership.

To this end, the county party committee has publicized information on the numbers of leading county-level positions to be filled and the qualifications for them. These positions include secretary and deputy secretaries of the county party committee, chairman and vice chairmen of the standing committee of the county people's congress and head and deputy heads of the county people's government. In addition to announcing the procedure that should be followed in recommending the candidates, the county party committee has also advised the party organizations at all levels to carry out the following tasks: first, they must effectively strengthen their leadership and recommend persons in an openminded manner. Second, they must conscientiously mobilize party members to seriously study related documents until they can fully understand the significance of this democratic process of recommending

county-level cadres and standards to be met by the candidates recommended. Third, they must urge party members to strengthen their sense of responsibility to the people and to follow a correct procedure in exercising their democratic rights. Fourth, commune party committees, party organizations of industrial and mining enterprises, and party branches of county-affiliated organs must hold meetings attended by party members and forums attended by the masses. At such meetings, candidates can be recommended and nominated through repeated consultations and discussions. Recommendations of candidates for the aforementioned positions should be sent to the county party committee for consideration, along with statements of why they are recommended and what positions are most suitable to them. Fifth, leading comrades at all levels should warmly welcome recommendations from the masses without prejudice. In response to the county party committee's appeal, party members and people throughout the county have decided to recommend those leading county-level cadres they like and trust the most.

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PARTY AND STATE

SICHUAN MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE

Commemorative Meeting

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 80 p 1

[News report by SICHUAN RIBAO reporter Kang Zhengxiang [1660 2973 4382]: "Kangding Celebrates the 30th Anniversary of Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture"]

[Text] On 1 September the people, dressed in their holiday best in this ancient city of Kangding, greeted with colorful bunting and placards the arrival of representatives attending the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

The event also drew groups of congratulators from Beijing, Chengdu, Chongqing, Liangshan Prefecture and snow-covered regions and pastoral areas throughout the country. The NPC Standing Committee and the State Council sent their respective congratulatory messages.

In his speech to a celebration meeting, Xie Hechou [6200 7729 4693], vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, extended warm greetings and cordial regards to the people and cadres of all nationalities, patriotic democrats, public security cadres, and PLA commanders and fighters stationed in Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He did so on behalf of the NPC Nationalities Commission and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. Hailing Garze as one of the PRC's earliest minority autonomous prefectures dominated by the people of Tibetan nationality, he said: The exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Tibetan nationality here means that they have become true masters of their home prefecture. We firmly believe that under the leadership of the CCP Committee of Sichuan Province and its people's government, and with the help of local cadres, they can play a great role in building Garze into a new, united, affluent and cultured prefecture.

He Haoju [0149 6/87 3515], secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee and vice governor of Sichuan Province, was the second speaker extending congratulations and greetings to the people and cadres of all nationalities and PLA commanders and fighters in Garze. He delivered his speech on behalf of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government, the provincial military district, and the Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In his speech, he said: The people of all nationalities in Garze are known for their glorious revolutionary tradition and industriousness. Their contributions to the democratic revolution and

socialist construction will be remembered by us all. We must grasp the most favorable current opportunity to study and implement thoroughly the central authorities' instructions on work in Tibet. In doing so, we must take into account the local actual conditions.

Qin Rao [2953 4935], head of the Garze Prefectural People's Government, also addressed the meeting. In his speech, he said: Since its establishment on 24 November 1950, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee and the provincial people's government, the people of all nationalities in this autonomous prefecture have worked with one mind and one heart to end feudal serfdom, realize a socialist transformation, develop production and bring about earth-shaking changes in the outlook of society. An initial success has been scored by the departments of agriculture and animal husbandry in changing primitive and backward modes of production. In 1979 the gross value of agricultural production, total grain output and the gross value of livestock production registered increases of 250, 220 and 160 percent, respectively, over the 1950 figures; the number of domestic animals in all categories increased by 140 percent; and there was a noticeable improvement in the marketability of livestock products. At the time of liberation, industry was nonexistent in this prefecture. But 30 years later, enterprises engaged in the production of woolen textile goods, leather, leather shoes, building materials, chemicals, farm machinery and mica have sprung up along with pharmaceutical plants, sawmills and hydroelectric powerplants. Some 3,600 kilometers of highways crisscrossing the prefecture have been constructed and are open to traffic. And with the development of production have come demands for improvements in cultural life, education, physical education and health care. Indeed, there have been great improvements in the people's standards of living. Comrade Qin Rao emphasized that during the past 30 years, as a result of the conscientious implementation of the party's nationality policy by party committees and local governments at all levels, a new socialist relationship of nationalities based on the principle of national equality, brotherhood, unity and mutual assistance has taken shape. This prefecture has devoted years to training a great number of cadres of minority nationalities who now form the backbone of the work forces on all fronts. A large number of cadres of Han nationality have also made considerable contributions to the construction of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture since their arrival here years ago. In coordination with minority cadres, they have struggled and worked hard and have persevered in keeping the work going at this high plateau. In conclusion, he pointed out: During this new historical period, our prefecture's central task is to strengthen unity between the cadres and the people, mobilize all positive factors to accelerate the tempo of economic and cultural construction and raise the cultural level of the people of all nationalities and their material living standards, so that the people of this prefecture can enjoy prosperity and affluence.

The meeting was followed by theatrical programs performed by various amateur troupes from counties in Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. A large-scale trade fair was held by the Garze prefectural commerce department in connection with the commemorative event. On display were 170 kinds of commodities, which were welcomed by local consumers.

'SICHUAN RIBAO' Editorial

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: Strengthen National Unity; Establish a New, Socialist, Modernized Garze Autonomous Prefecture"]

[Text] The 30th anniversary of the founding of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is being celebrated in connection with the long march undertaken by the people of all nationalities throughout the country to carry out the general task for this new historical period. We are full of joy in extending our warmest congratulations to the people of all nationalities in Garze on this festive occasion.

Garze's revolutionary tradition dates back to 1936. That year, the Boba government--the first people's political power in the history of the Tibetan nationality--was established with the CCP's help and with the support of a visiting column of the Red Worker-Peasant Army. In 1950, after nationwide liberation, Garze became the first minority autonomous prefecture dominated by the people of Tibetan nationality, thanks to the support of the party Central Committee.

During the past 30 years, under the guidance of the party's nationality policy, and under the leadership of party committees and governments at all levels, cadres and people of all nationalities in Garze have worked hard with the top-echelon patriots of local religious sects to win great victories for the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and the cause of socialist construction. They have also worked together to end the feudal serfdom and slaveowning system, thus making vast numbers of former serfs and slaves masters of their home prefecture. Like people in other parts of the country, the people of all nationalities in Garze suffered miserably from the 10 years of catastrophe and from the implementation of the ultraleft line by Lin Biao and the gang of four, in gross disregard for the party's nationality policy. Since the downfall of the gang of four, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party committees at all levels have conscientiously implemented the party's political line, principles and policies and have scored successes in all fields of endeavor. But we must realize that for various subjective and objective reasons, our progress remains too slow and the level of production is still relatively low. The glorious task now facing the people of all nationalities in Garze is to implement conscientiously the party Central Committee's recent instructions on work in Tibet and the guidelines of the work conference of the three prefectures called by the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee; to rally the people of all nationalities behind a common endeavor to accelerate the tempo of economic and cultural construction, to raise their cultural level and material standards of living, and to bring prosperity and affluence to this multinational society as soon as possible.

It is not only possible but also absolutely necessary to realize those objectives. Garze is a prefecture with over 70 million people of Tibetan, Yi, Hui and Han nationalities known for their industriousness, heroism, intelligence and revolutionary tradition. In the future as in the past, they can be expected to make great contributions to the four modernizations program. Garze is also a vast rural area known for its abundant natural resources, which can be developed to brighten the

prospect of its economy. Garze now has nearly 100 million mu of natural pastureland, dense forests covering 10 million mu or more of land with inexhaustible water resources, rich mineral deposits, large quantities of precious medical herbs, and rich varieties of native products. All these form an important material basis for promoting the four modernizations. During the past 30 years, a great number of well-trained minority cadres and scientists and technicians have emerged in Garze and can be expected to play a decisive role in all fields of work in the future.

It is necessary to strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities in order to insure success in developing the local economy and culture. Party committees and local governments at all levels must continue to reeducate the people in the party's nationality policy and must spare no effort to implement it thoroughly. At present, under the unified leadership of the central authorities and the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, they must concentrate their efforts on creating a situation in which autonomous prefectures such as Garze fully enjoy the right of self-determination and the people of minority nationalities are granted the privilege of controlling their own affairs as masters of their home prefecture. To meet the needs of autonomous prefectures, a great number of minority cadres with communist consciousness and professional knowledge must undergo training so that in future they can play a greater role in the government. Attention must be given to the thorough implementation of the party's policy toward religions. Under this policy, normal religious activities will be respected, unlawful activities in the guise of religions will be banned, and control over all religious activities will be strengthened. We must continuously do a good job of uniting, educating and remodeling the top-echelon patriots of the national religious sects and of consolidating and expanding the revolutionary and patriotic united front.

Building Garze into a prosperous and affluent prefecture is a rather difficult task. To realize this objective calls for common, pioneering efforts by party committees and governments at all levels and cadres and people of all nationalities in Garze. We must pay tribute to the cadres and workers of Han nationality who came here from the interior years ago and who have ever since cooperated with local minority cadres and people in developing this plateau; they have contributed greatly to success in socialist revolution and socialist construction in Garze. We hope that these comrades will continue to work with local minority cadres and people to develop the excellent situation of stability and unity and swiftly change the outlook of poverty and backwardness with the kind of enthusiasm, ingenuity, revolutionary spirit, and wisdom they displayed during the democratic reform period. At the same time, all provincial-level departments and units in other parts of the country are urged to give material, financial and technical support to this endeavor. We hope that, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, the people of all nationalities in Garze Prefecture will be united as one so as to make still greater contributions to the prosperity of Garze and the modernization of the motherland.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MINISTER CRITICIZED FOR SEEKING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 80 p 4

[Article: "Beginning of a New Era of Democracy: A Cook Criticizes a Minister"]

[Text] Lots of new things are happening in the China of the 1980's. A few days ago, a young cook, Chen Aiwu [7115 1947 2976] revealed to our party a criticism of the minister of commerce for demanding special privileges whenever he went to the Fengzeyuan Restaurant to eat. The young cook's being praised by the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline is one of these new things.

In the old society, it would be unimaginable for a young apprentice in a shop even to think about accusing a minister, not to mention being successful. Even after liberation such things were rare. After the news was released in the newspapers and over the radio, the news agency phones never stopped ringing, there were heated discussions everywhere, and there were telegrams of congratulations from abroad. The intensity of the reaction to this affair is worth some serious thought.

Special privileges are residual poisons from the feudal system. Although the emperors have been gone from China for half a century, the concept of class privileges set up by the emperors is like a ghost that still runs around in peoples' minds. When someone becomes a leader, he feels he is a little bit better than the common man. If he wants to ride in a sedan chair, then there must be someone to carry the sedan chair. Therefore the various sorts of special treatment, so-called "serving the leaders," have come to be viewed as natural and correct. In follow-the-leader fashion, this has expanded to the degree where one need only have a little authority to be able to "pluck a few feathers from a passing goose." The practice of "use it, look at it, or enjoy it on a 'trial' basis" has become very respectable. "Family relationships" serve as a pretext and disguise for taking advantage of the state, and "private use of public funds" is a disguised form of graft. These dishonest practices have already become a social evil which is seriously eroding the body of our party and our society and poisoning the hearts of our people. With regard to this kind of danger, if we sin in our sedan chairs with the curtains drawn, no one will ever see it or be aware of it. Those leaders feel: I have worked very hard for the people. What does it matter if I get a little special consideration? Therefore, although the "Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party" has been in print for more than 6 months, it has not moved them to compare themselves against the standards to to work according to the "Guiding Principles."

If this evil is not removed, there is no hope for the four modernizations. It must start with the self, and with the leaders taking the initiative. The special privileges and bureaucratic activities of some leadership cadres have caused some people who had hope for the four modernizations to feel discouraged. "The arm cannot twist the leg, and it will do no good to talk about it," sigh some people. "That is just the way society is and there is nothing we can do about it" is the excuse used by some people.

"We just have to see if the leaders have the determination." This is the reason for the enormous reaction to the news that the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline supported the cook in criticizing the minister. The masses are happily running around telling each other: "They really mean business."

After that, a number of comrades heard the news and went to restaurants to pay full cost for meals they had eaten at a discount.

Then everyone everywhere began setting up systems to plug the loopholes that allowed petty advantages be given to "special guests," correcting these dishonest practices.

How encouraging this is!

In the past we have worried about some young people who felt hurt and were disillusioned with this world. Some comrades have even blamed young people for being unreachable with ideological work. Please note how the cook criticizing the minister will move the hearts of the young people who have become disillusioned with this world. Fan Baishun [2868 2672 7311], a young person from Shaoxing in Zhejiang, said in his letter that he had [previously] set guidelines for himself: "Read more, think less and be inconspicuous." After he read about Chen Aiwu, he felt that this was not just "a lot of thunder with a little rain." But he was worried about Chen Aiwu. He had offended a high-ranking cadre of the state, his own immediate supervisor; that was really something! He had never thought that practical action to correct these mistakes would come so fast. The communique of the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline and [Commerce Minister] Wang Lei's personal self-criticism destroyed [Fan's] "guidelines." In the first letter he had ever written to a news agency, he said, "I now believe that if we have the courage to challenge dishonest practices and rely on the party and the people, then and only then will we be able to change the disillusionment of the young people. I hope that many of the young people who are taking part in the debates on the philosophy of life will learn from those who have the courage to join and change the real world, and that they will not just sigh in lament but will go forth and struggle!"

We can see from this that if you want to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism, then you must set yourself up as an example and "start by correcting your own mistakes." By no means can you view special privileges, petty advantages as a trifling matter. Even less can you underestimate the importance of public self-criticism by a minister and his going to the restaurant to pay for his shortages, or the hope, confidence, and strength this gives the people. It is just like another young person said: "This is more effective than the issuing of 100 documents."

Our young people are really worthy of our love and trust. Read a little of what Chen Aiwu had to say and you will really be moved: "To tell the truth, Comrade

Wang Lei has helped me a lot. He is my boss. He has paid attention to my growth and encouraged my progress. When I revealed his mistakes, I was not attacking him personally but was trying to help him. It was not an attack on him individually, but it was done to expose certain leading comrades who practice dishonesty through special privileges. I was practicing my right as a party member through organizational procedures. I was making a stand for carrying out a reform in our system."

We can see from these words that the concept of strict feudal classes has been eliminated and that in its place there is a cadre-masses relationship of a camaraderie, equality, and mutual support and help. The people support their public servants. The public servants require supervision by the people. With such a relationship, we need not worry that evil cannot be corrected. Some comrades cannot get used to the idea of such things as a cook criticizing a minister by name, and they are worried that this sort of "offending higher levels" might incite the masses to dissatisfaction toward the government. This goes to show how difficult it is to rid the mind of old ideas, and it also shows their lack of understanding of the awareness and feelings of the masses after 10 years of enormous hardships. If one's ideology and feelings are widely divorced from those of the masses, then one will see what is clearly a great and good thing as something bad.

This is absolutely something good, and not only because it arouses the faith of the masses toward correcting wrong practices and realizing the four modernizations. Of even greater significance is the fact that it ties in with other things, such as the delegates exercising consultative powers at the National Peoples' Congress, launching a new trend in democracy. It lets us take one more step toward our high goals for socialism and democracy. This typical example makes two things vividly clear to the masses:

1. Every public servant has to accept the supervision of the people. "In our China, people do different kinds of work, but no one is more honorable or more humble than anyone else. No one is a slave, a class lower than anyone else, and no one is a nobleman, a class higher than anyone else. The kind of thinking that one has unlimited privileges is the corrupt philosophy of feudalistic privileges. This kind of thinking must be criticized and corrected." ("Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party") To effect a high level of democracy, it is necessary for the people to have the right--and execute that right--to supervise, criticize and appoint and remove public officials.

2. The supervision of public officials, the praising of good deeds, and the criticism of mistakes in the newspapers are necessary means of developing criticism and self-criticism among the people and of establishing proper democratic life. For the past many years the extreme left ideological tide of cruel struggle and heartless attacks sabotaged the excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism in our party. It seemed as if criticism were nothing more than a means of taking care of an enemy. Once someone was criticized by name in a newspaper, then it was a call to topple him, make him stink. If he were not overthrown, however, then even if he made mistakes he could not be criticized. "Respect for the prestige of the office" turned criticism of high-level leadership cadres into even more of a forbidden area. If you were to publicly criticize someone by name, "Comrade, you make a mistake there," he would jump up and say, "Who authorized you to criticize me by name? Why don't you work inside the party first, and then outside the party?" It sounded like his "organizational concept" and "party spirit" were very strong. But how

would these comrades answer if someone were to ask them: "Who authorized you to have special privileges? When you assumed your special privileges, were you thinking of the party or of the bad influence you were having outside the party? Were you thinking of protecting the prestige of the party?"

The setting up of these two lines of defense really is "insurance" for the protection of the prestige of honorable persons. Unfortunately, over a period of time this could lead to the belief that "if you have privileges and do not use them, after a while they will be forfeited." "Just a little won't hurt." No attention will be paid to your "principles." Also, it could lead to "mutual protection and collusion among officials," which could result in its being impossible or difficult to expose special privileges. Public servants would become the masters, and there would be nothing that the people could do about it. The actual situation in China now is not that there is less guarantee for the respectable, but that there are fewer avenues for public supervision of public officials and less guarantee that there will not be victims of retaliation. An education minister in Denmark was publicly criticized and dismissed because he overstepped his authority and wasted public funds. After he had replaced the wasted funds, he gradually regained some leadership duties. If the capitalists can have this sort of democracy, should it not be even better under communists?

Some comrades are afraid that if the people are allowed to criticize leading cadres by name in the paper, it will lead to a lack of organization and a promotion of the "four greats." Democracy is not anarchy. Democracy is orderly, regulated, and organized. 1) Criticism must be in accord with the facts. 2) If criticism is allowed, then rebuttal must be allowed. 3) False accusations must be punished. 4) The handling of cases must be done by the organization: if there has been a violation of party discipline or national laws, then it must be handled by the Commission for Inspection of Discipline and the procuratorate organs. It can thus be seen that the development of criticism in newspapers is something completely different from the irresponsible pasting of big-character posters in the streets. Experiences and lessons in foreign countries and the facts during our 31 years as a nation prove that there are internal conflicts in the societies of socialist nations, too. To keep these conflicts from intensifying, we must go through broad democratic means to alleviate and resolve them. The newspaper is one major democratic avenue that can be used.

If the people's supervision of public servants is to be preserved, then the position and function of the Commission for Inspection of Discipline must be respected. As I see it, it should be a prestigious organ for the maintenance of party discipline and the party's ways of doing things. It should be the equal of the party committee and be at the same level. Both should be generated by elections at the party congress. Stalin once abolished the censorship committee and replaced it with a Ministry of Supervision. As a result it led to the destruction of democracy and an expansion of the elimination of counterrevolutionaries. The histories of the Soviet Union and China prove that even leaders who have long been tempered make big mistakes if they are not supervised by the people. Have these lessons not been painful enough for us? Can we allow any leadership cadre not to be under the supervision of the Commission for Inspection of Discipline, or allow him to brood over the fact that he is being supervised?

If we are to develop modern socialist construction, then politically we should create a democracy that is greater and more solid than that of the capitalist nations. This should be one of the great superiorities manifested by our socialist system. We are living in a period of great changes. Our party is advancing. If we want to create a high degree of democracy, there is a lot more work we have to do. There is a long road we have to travel. But just because of this, we must not cling to established customs and become victims of petrified thought. Democracy, democracy: the basic point is that the people must become the masters of the state. People today are becoming increasingly disgusted with feudalistic practices. They are making increasingly stronger demands for democracy. When they achieve some advance, some breakthrough, some creation, can any communist not be elated? When the great situation develops smoothly along with the desires of the people, how can one "profess fear of what one fears," or ever pour cold water to dampen enthusiasm? Therefore, the good episode of the cook's criticizing the minister by name, which has far-reaching significance, must be praised, must be supported. Now that our party is supported, there is great hope for our cause.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN'S COLLECTIVE WORK SYSTEM SAID WORTHY OF EMULATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Lin Jizhou [2651 1015 3166]: "How Did Lenin Preside Over Collective Work Conferences?"]

[Text] An important task now facing the party organizations at all levels throughout the country is to strengthen their leadership, and overcome their bureaucratic and dilatory workstyles. To this end, they must put into effect the collective work system, adopt new methods that can help bring every meeting to a successful conclusion, and improve the efficiency of work. Some measures taken by Lenin to speed up the proceedings of the Collective Work Conference when he acted as its chairman are worthy of our emulation.

Lenin was appointed chairman of the People's Council in October 1917 and concurrent chairman of the National Defense Council (renamed National Defense Action Council in 1920) in November 1918, and held these two positions until his death in January 1924. The People's Council and the National Defense Action Council were two collective leadership organs. The former was the supreme state executive organ and the latter was charged with overseeing the national defense affairs, coordinating and directing the activities of various ministries under the direct leadership of the former. In the "resolution concerning the establishment of the worker-peasant government," drafted by Lenin in November 1917, he called the collective leadership the principle of the highest order for the Soviet government. In his December 1918 draft of "the regulations concerning the administration of the Soviet organs," Lenin further stipulated: "All administrative problems facing the Soviet organs must be resolved through collective discussion; the Soviet government must clearly specify responsibility for all its staff members. This regulation must be put into effect immediately so that an efficient supervising system can be truly set up and the most qualified people can be selected and appointed to various posts." Lenin's guiding thought can be summed up this way: Is it necessary to discuss problems collectively, and specify responsibility for everyone in public service.

When Lenin was their chairman, the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council often brought up their problems for discussion at their Collective Work Conference, and decisions could be adopted by a majority vote before being submitted to their chairman for a signing into law. If the chairman did not agree with the decisions adopted by the majority vote at the Collective Work Conference, he had two options open to him: send them to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

(equivalent to our NPC Standing Committee) or the Central Politburo for reconsideration. If they were approved by the two organizations, the chairman had no other alternative but to sign them into law. These were regulations which were consistently observed by Lenin. He never made any decision on major policy matters without going through collective discussion, nor interfered in the affairs of other offices which were beyond the power delegated to him by the laws governing the operation of the executive branch of the government. Lenin felt that acting this way could avoid mistakes and confusion in the government, giving the collective leadership members due respect. For example, when the acting director of the General Fuel Control Bureau wrote a letter to Lenin on 22 February 1922, seeking his approval of a rider to the budget of the Coal and Water Resources Development Bureau or an alternative proposal for its retrenchment, Lenin sternly said: this action was initiated by a person unfamiliar with the rudimentary regulations regarding the government operations, a request for such actions should be submitted to the People's Council for approval instead of its chairman. Lenin consistently upheld the collective work system. During the early stage of the Soviet government, it had no administrative experiences. At that time, all matters, both significant and insignificant, were brought to the attention of the People's Council, which was in turn forced to meet almost daily from 8 pm to 1 or 2 am. On its daily agenda were several scores of problems that needed to be urgently solved. To change this situation, the People's Council adopted regulations governing the proceedings of each meeting as suggested by Lenin. When the state began to shift the emphasis of its work to the economic construction in 1921, as a result of the implementation of these regulations, all meetings were reduced to the minimum; regular plenary sessions of the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council were held only once a week, with the exception of the emergency meetings; each meeting was not permitted to exceed 4 hours (which later were cut to 2 hours on Lenin's recommendation). According to statistics tabulated from 1921 to 1922, the People's Council met 5 times a month on average and could solve at least 10 problems at each meeting; the National Defense Action Council met 8 times a month on average and could solve at least 22 problems at each meeting. This indicated that the Collective Work Conference chaired by Lenin had a reputation for high efficiency. Lenin usually attached great importance to the pre-meeting preparations. The regulations governing the preparation of agenda for each meeting drafted by Lenin stipulate: Each People's Council member is required to submit a written request for putting his proposal on the agenda of the next scheduled meeting along with a brief statement of its content attached with necessary reference information and accompanied by written statements from its other cosponsors. When the agenda was completed, it should be distributed to participants not later than 24 hours before each meeting was convened. Lenin often had high respect for other People's Council members' opinions. To enable them to get acquainted with what was to take place at the coming meeting, he would like to carefully pore over the agenda item by item and then added his own opinions to it for their benefit. In the event of too much to be read, Lenin would underline the most important portion of the agenda and instruct them to go over it carefully. If he encountered any item that needed clarification, he would personally summon its sponsor for a face-to-face discussion. In the case of a problem that involved several units, he would advise them to schedule a pre-collective work conference meeting to thrash it out and come up with a common proposal, so as to prevent them from dragging their feet and passing the buck during the conference, thus delaying the search for a solution to the problem. A typical example was the problem of how to prepare to meet the needs of major textile mills in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk region on the agenda

of the People's Council session scheduled for 12 April 1921. Before the session, Lenin personally met a delegation from that region in order to acquaint himself with the general situation there. Later, he suggested that nine central organs concerned with the textile industry meet with visiting comrades from there so that they could work out specific assistance measures and figure out how much financial aid, fuel, equipment and food were needed in developing the textile industry. As a result of this thoughtful preparation, the draft proposal for the development of the textile industry in the Ivnovo-Voznesensk region quickly passed the floor of the People's Council following a minor revision. In the event of a dispute, Lenin would first like to hear out opinions from both sides. When confronted with the important policy-matters concerning finance, economics, science and technology, he would first hand them over to a special committee for study before seeking advice from individual scientists and specialists. Before matters of prime importance were listed on the agenda, he would repeatedly exchange views with related individual colleagues by correspondence or through face-to-face meetings. In this way, the situation of endless discussion without decision could be avoided; decisions that take into account actual needs could be quickly made.

To shorten the meeting time, the People's Council adopted the "regulations governing the convention of the People's Council" specifically drafted by Lenin. Included in the regulations were specific requirements for bringing each meeting to a successful conclusion, and the specific length of time allowed each speaker in the meeting. This set of regulations was strictly observed by Lenin in all meetings chaired by him. In discussing problems, Lenin made it a rule that everyone would speak within the length of time allowed and not beyond. At each meeting, he always laid before him a watch for monitoring the length of time each speaker was allowed. He always urged his colleagues in meetings to express their views in a clear and laconical way so as to avoid wasting time. In other words, all meetings chaired by Lenin were tightly scheduled.

The members of the collective leadership were neither omnipotent nor omniscient. For this reason, the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council often invited representatives of other state organs, specialists, scholars and other experienced and professional workers to their collective work conferences so that they could pool their wisdom to help solve problems. When a proposal was put to vote, only the People's Council members (or alternate members) had voting rights. As soon as the discussion of one problem was over, persons not involved in the upcoming discussions would normally be asked to leave the meeting.

Although Lenin placed strict demands on others, he cherished the democratic work-style. As a leader and good listener who never considered his views final, Lenin always encouraged others in meetings to feel free to debate him and to express their views without reservations. People attending meetings chaired by Lenin never felt ill at ease with him because he could enlighten them to fresh ideas which merited further discussions. Lenin welcomed clear, accurate and elucidative statements of facts and statistic figures and positive suggestions while opposing pointless, ambiguous, ambivalent and meaningless rhetorics. As a matter of principle, Lenin never forgave inexcusable mistakes. Whenever he heard anyone deliver a good speech full of valuable suggestions, instead of summing it up in his own terms as every other chairman normally did at the end of each speech, Lenin would ask the speaker to repeat it once more so that the stenographer could take it down accurately as reference. In short, Lenin always urged those who

attended the Collective Work Conference to freely and fully express their views so that they could come up with some realistic decisions based on careful analysis.

Lenin emphasized that the collective leadership should be adopted as a method for overseeing the state affairs. But he also pointed out: "Any overstatement and distortion of the collective leadership system may result in dilatory and irresponsible workstyles and may turn collective leadership organs into places of aimless talks. This negative aspect of the collective leadership which is bound to have a bad effect on society should be eliminated as soon as possible at any price." Lenin never stopped urging the collective leadership to specify responsibility for everyone in government service at all times and under all circumstances. He also wanted to specify responsibility for leading cadres and other lower level personnel in every state organ so that no one could pass the buck around. He advised that problems that could be resolved by the lower level authorities should not be submitted to the People's Council and the Central Politburo for solution. In May 1922, Lenin received a telegram addressed to the Politburo for approval. That telegram was a reply to an inquiry from two Russian negotiators overseas about the quantities of fuel and scrap iron involved in the trade and lend-lease agreement under negotiation. After reading that telegram, Lenin told Stalin: "This telegram should not be addressed to the Politburo for approval in the first place. The Soviet government regulations should be observed in handling similar problems in the future. This telegram should be signed and sent by two vice chairmen of the People's Council and chairman or vice chairman of the Lend-Lease Committee and director of the General Fuels Bureau, who can verify whether the figures involved are accurate or not, and who can make sure whether this instruction to the two negotiators follows the Soviet laws and Soviet government regulations. It is their duty to check out this telegram. For this reason, I refuse to sign it." In Lenin's opinion, the party organizations should refrain from directly interfering in the affairs of the government and economic organizations which should do everything possible in their power to solve their own problems.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HU QIAOMU ON IMPORTANT ROLE OF JOURNALISTS

Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] in Chinese No 4, Apr 80 pp 2-9

["Comrade Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] Speech at the Inaugural Meeting of the Beijing Journalists Association, 6 February 1980"]

[Text] Members of the senior generation in journalistic work, colleagues in journalistic work, comrades, and comrades-in-arms present:

Comrade An Gang [1344 1511] has just mentioned that the inauguration of the Beijing Journalists Association at this time is a propitious occasion in the 30-year history of our journalistic circles. Let me first of all extend my congratulations on the establishment of the Journalists Association. The date of this inauguration happens to be the eve of the first spring festival in the first spring of the 1980's. Let me wish all comrades present good health and good work!

Not long ago, before the establishment of this Journalists Association, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech. Part of that speech touched upon journalistic work; other parts of the speech also were closely related to journalistic work. Therefore, the date for the establishment of the Journalists Association was very timely and well selected, and this indicates that the work of the Journalists Association is definitely likely to develop forward smoothly, as everyone wishes.

I have had some ties with journalistic work. But, honestly, I should say that I am not a formal journalist. After joining the revolution, I ran a little tabloid in Peiping. This little tabloid could not be considered a formal newspaper. But from that period of work, I gained some experience. Running to and from the printing plant frequently, I came to know what editing and typesetting were all about, and what proofreading and printing were all about. After that, I also ran a similar little tabloid in Shanghai. Apart from these [experiences], what I have done has been only indirectly related to journalistic work. Therefore, when you want me to serve as honorary president of the Journalists Association, to give me this honor, I really do not feel equal to it. There are many members of the senior generation present; they are the real pioneers in China's journalistic enterprises. It is they who have participated in pioneering journalistic enterprises or in the pioneering enterprises of revolutionary journalistic work, progressive journalistic work. I wish to learn from them.

Now, let us skip superfluous words in this regard. Since you have conferred upon me this incongruous honor and want me to speak a few words, let me just say a few words about my hopes in respect to journalistic work that come to my mind.

In his own speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically mentioned the question of stability and unity and leadership of the party. When he talked about stability and unity, he also mentioned the role of journalistic work. In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping hoped that our newspapers and journals would become the ideological center contributing to the stability and unity of our entire state and entire society. I think this is a very important matter that lies before us. What I wish to talk about in terms of my hopes in respect to our present journalistic work is namely how to put into effect satisfactorily the call that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has issued to us.

Since we wish to work on the four modernizations, we must have a political environment of stability and unity. Why would stability and unity constitute a problem? This is because there are still certain factors of instability and disunity prevailing in our society; certain factors of instability and disunity still exist in the thinking of part of the people. All action takes place under the guidance of a definite kind of thinking. I remember that in Gorkiy's recollection of the situation after Lenin encountered an assassination attempt, when Gorkiy went to see him Lenin had this to say: Everyone takes action according to his thinking. This means that no matter how bad the person who made the assassination attempt on Lenin might be, she followed her own thinking in carrying out such a base, vicious act. Therefore, in wishing our state, our society, to make continued progress in the process of the four modernizations and to advance a thousand li each day, as everyone wishes, if we fail to make efforts to solve the question of stability and unity in our thinking, and hence let certain factors hampering stability and unity continue to become a kind of serious problem, then we are bound to encounter difficulties. Our work will not be smooth. And when we cannot smoothly arrive at our expected destination, many more problems will arise. People will argue: Why are we making such slow progress right now? They will argue that it is because of these reasons or those reasons, etc. Therefore, in hoping for the realization of the four modernizations, in hoping for the rapid, smooth realization of the four modernizations, we cannot but emphatically consider the need for a political situation of stability and unity, as well as the need to lay the ideological foundation for such a political situation.

The 10-year history of the Cultural Revolution has already taught us a very agonizing lesson. But for part of our comrades, for part of the people and part of the youths in society, this lesson did not seem agonizing enough. Some even think that they should still go on denying everything as they did in the past, forming certain factions, and continuing to carry out activities against the leadership of the party. Among these people are first of all various forms of remnants of the "gang of four" who in certain places still constitute a force detrimental to stability and unity that should not be underestimated. But generally speaking, this segment of people have a rather limited influence on journalists. Or we should say that comrades in our journalistic circles maintain a high degree of vigilance toward them and have achieved great results in struggling against them in the past few years. On the other hand, there are people who are forming small factions of various kinds; although they are not remnants of the "gang of four," they actually also advocate "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat,"

and while some among them even oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, they nevertheless advocate continued revolution. I think all comrades present will probably agree that this slogan of the so-called "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is rather preposterous. Everybody knows that it was proposed by that adviser; he belongs to the same company as the "gang of four," and he is one of those who committed serious crimes against the Chinese revolution. Proposing this slogan is itself a crime. Today, for some people, the people we have just mentioned--those who have not yet learned the lesson they should have from the 10 years of sabotage--this problem is still not solved. Do you wish to realize the four modernizations? In those people's eyes, the present leaders are incapable of guiding the four modernizations. Then what is going to be done? [In their view,] this requires a change of this leadership; this requires "continued revolution." Various principles, various systems, and various leading organs must all be appraised anew, debated anew, and begun anew. If you oppose this, then you are opposing democracy. The number of these people is very small; but their capability cannot be considered very small. They have created an important ideological trend of instability and disunity, and the views and attitudes of our journalistic workers toward this ideological trend are not necessarily entirely consistent. Therefore, I wish to say a few more words on this.

Comrade Xiaoping has said that we must not underestimate this group of people. Really, we really must not underestimate them. Although their number is very small, they have many characteristics: They are organized. Their organizations are secret. These secret organizations of theirs are in turn connected with one another throughout the country. They also have pertinent programs and "theories." Although the programs and "theories" of various organizations are not all the same, many in fact are the same. For the realization of this [common] program, they also have various strategies. Also, they continue to study and adopt different strategies according to different situations. These people are not entirely isolated in society; there is a fairly large number of people who harbor sympathy toward them or who even support them, even though such people may not understand, or not entirely understand, their internal situation.

Our society has undergone great changes; our socialist cause has undergone great vicissitudes. Even though today, as Comrade Xiaoping said in the beginning portion of his report, we have already achieved great progress in the past 3 years, not all people perceive such progress, understand such progress, or acknowledge such progress. Nor do all people know that the realization of every step of such progress has taken great struggle and plenty of hard work. Of course, 3 years are a short period of time, and it is impossible to accomplish many things within such a short period of time. Also, the situation during these 3 years has been so complicated that under the circumstances, nobody could have avoided making this or that kind of mistake. We cannot say that our work during these 3 years has always been correct and has satisfied everyone. This is impossible. Furthermore, our work during these 3 years has of course not been sufficient to make all people in society remove the doubts, disappointments, and dissatisfaction caused by the vicissitudes we experienced during the past 10 years. It is not easy to remove the lack of confidence, the doubts, and the dissatisfaction that all kinds of people in society have harbored toward our socialist cause on various grounds. We need a much longer period of time, we need to do a lot more work, and we need to achieve many more results. Unquestionably, such a day will come. By that time, an overwhelming majority of people and an overwhelming majority of youths in our

society, not to mention an overwhelming majority of communists and journalists, are bound to be able to remove the doubts, disappointments, and dissatisfactions that have occurred in the past. They will sense anew that in our state, in our social life, all aspects are full of hope, and an overwhelming majority of people are bound to have full confidence in the future. Our problem today is that we have not yet reached that day. Today, some difficulties, some problems, some things that dissatisfy and disappoint people still exist. Of course there will be such things any day, but there happen to be more of them today. This causes stability and unity to become a serious problem.

I have just spoken of this problem in a relatively large realm. But this is still not enough. We must observe the factors of instability and disunity which exist in our society and in our politics; we must see the still larger realm.

We often hear comrades with these kinds of questions, who say: Since we say that our socialist society has already eliminated the classes, yet at the same time we also say that in a certain area class struggle still exists, how can these two statements go together? Is this not a contradiction in logic? Let us not bother for the time being about whether or not this constitutes a contradiction in logic. But first of all, this is a fact. It is not because, since we have talked about class struggle for many years in the past, we have to continue to talk about it, so that even though the way we say it now is different, it will not seem to do if we refrain from mentioning it completely. This is not the case at all; this is an objective fact. In our society, the exploitative class as a class really no longer exists. But our country must have relations, many kinds of relations, with many other countries, many capitalist countries. The scale of such relations today is something that we had never reached since the founding of our state, and it is going to develop further from now on. These relations are going to penetrate and influence various realms of our social life continuously. They of course are also going to influence the remnants of some old classes in our society. And in our country, there are still certain special conditions. For instance, Taiwan is China's territory; do classes not still exist on Taiwan? Hong Kong and Macao are also China's territory; do classes not still exist there? The exploitative classes in those places are not just remnants, but still constitute a class which is engaged in exploitation; those classes also have various kinds of relations with us. Along with the passage of time, these relations will also become more and more numerous. Take Tibet, as another example: a group of people escaped from Tibet; this group of people was organized. They have not disappeared; they still exist. They are having these and those kinds of relations with our state, different kinds of relations. Therefore, when we say that in our country the exploitative class no longer exists as a class, what we are saying here does not necessarily include places like Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. These places are not within the realm of our control right now. Those groups wandering abroad are also of this nature. Of course, we are not saying that people of these exploitative classes are all opposed to socialism, but neither can we say that all of them will accept socialism. All of the above is what we cannot help but consider when we talk about our country's classes.

Around our mainland are deployed various kinds of espionage organizations. The Kuomintang's espionage organizations exist not only on Taiwan, nor just on Quemoy and Matsu, nor just in Hong Kong and Macao, but similarly in the border areas beyond Yunnan and Tibet, and they are active every day. They are engaged in a

life-and-death struggle against our state, against our socialist system, against our socialism, and against our people. How it be said that there is no class struggle? What else can this be if it is not class struggle?

Even in terms of domestic conditions, we cannot help but acknowledge that class struggle still continues to exist from various different sources and in various remnant forms, and there is a certain degree of relationship between them. We cannot say that all class struggles are interrelated, but neither can we say that they are not interrelated at all. In the case of certain secret groups, they declare that they have established this party, that party, or this association, that association. But among them, there actually are such groups, and certain people thereof not only carry on certain exchanges with all kinds of people from capitalist countries who enjoy legitimate positions in Beijing, but some of these exchanges are not so legitimate. And, they are also interrelated with some of the espionage organizations in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or others in areas beyond our border. Of course, such problems do not exist among certain people among these organizations, but they too are related to the above-mentioned people. Up to now, they still have not cut their ties with those counterrevolutionary and antisocialist elements, be they Chinese or foreign, whether or not in each case they themselves have understood such relations. Certain people among them are secretly plotting terrorist activities, and sharp class struggle is taking place between these people and the vast ranks of people in the whole country. This is something that any person who is willing to objectively treat and understand this world cannot help but acknowledge.

As has been observed above, there are historical conditions, there is a historical basis, which turn stability and unity into a problem. The fact that we are struggling for stability and unity is also a task put to us by history. Stability and unity are not something that can be advanced in any society, under any historical conditions. In a capitalist society, or in the class society before capitalism, no problem of stability and unity existed. In those societies there could be no stability, let alone unity. In other developmental stages of socialism, or in its future stage of higher development--communist society--such a problem of stability and unity is still less likely to arise. It is in the present specific historical conditions that we are confronting such a problem. This is objective reality which confronts us. We cannot but acknowledge the existence of such a problem, and it must be solved. Our comrades pursuing journalistic work especially cannot help but see, acknowledge, consider, study, and treat such reality as properly as we can in our work. These factors of instability and disunity have of course come to be greatly reduced, compared to 30 years ago or still earlier. But they still cannot be belittled or underestimated. As I have just said, in the past 3 years we have done not just a little work; but can we hope to cure all the wounds left over by history on the basis of the work of these 3 years? It cannot be done, has not been done, and is not yet possible. Once there is a wound, it can well become a factor of instability and disunity. If germs and poisons have set in, that would be still more of a foregone conclusion.

If our newspapers, journals--and in this regard, newspapers are even more important than journals--do not calmly and comprehensively consider this situation, consider how we should cope with this situation, then it is inevitable that some errors are going to appear in our work. Hence, this problem is worth studying. In attempting to solve this problem, we are not going to avoid it in a negative way, but we must

first of all strengthen the forces of stability and unity in our society in a positive way. The Party Central Committee has declared many times that we have basically realized a political situation of stability and unity and liveliness; we must first consolidate and develop this situation, and especially consolidate and develop this situation ideologically. Comrade Xiaoping's report suggested that our newspapers and journals--what he meant was the party's newspapers and journals--should become the ideological center for realizing stability and unity. How to achieve this goal? Can this goal be achieved? Are we capable of undertaking this task? We are completely capable and definitely capable. Our newspapers and journals will definitely become the ideological center for consolidating the political situation of stability and unity and liveliness, as the Party Central Committee has hoped and called for, and they will also further promote the development of this political situation of stability and unity and liveliness.

In order for our newspapers and journals to accomplish such a task, many things need to be done. Right now I am thinking of making this wish--that we should seriously study a little, systematically propagate some of the foundations, bases, for stability and unity in our socialist society in a planned way and on a long-range basis. Once the ideological perception of the people throughout the whole country and of the youths throughout the whole country becomes consistent, many factors of instability and disunity will disappear. Not all the factors, of course; as I have just said, this is predicated on all kinds of factors, and some are factors which the strength of our newspapers and journals cannot eliminate. But no one shall underestimate our strength. If some of the factors of instability and disunity cannot be underestimated, then our own strength can still less be underestimated.

How is it that our socialist society can achieve stability and unity while a capitalist society cannot? This is first of all because our socialism is built on the basis of the fundamental consistency of the interests of all the people, or of almost all citizens. We have common interests and common consequences; that is to say, we not only have common interests, but we also have common dangers. We need to explain this point fully in our newspapers and journals. The interests of this part of our people and that part of our people are interrelated and basically consistent, apart from the bad elements. The interests of our people and our government, of our people and our party, and of our people and our army are basically consistent. Although certain minor contradictions have occurred, and there still are and will continue to be such minor contradictions, these do not hamper our basic consistency. This is something we can never overlook, and we must absolutely not weaken our propagation to our whole society sharing such common interests. Therefore, even when we wish to expose certain contradictions, if those contradictions must be exposed, then they will not weaken such propagation with regard to the consistency of our interests, either. This is because we have common interests; and these interests are of a fundamental nature of interests which govern not only our today but also our tomorrow as well as our future--our very, very distant future.

Our society has common ideals; this is also something a capitalist society is incapable of having. So-called ideals are namely pursuits of our future interests, our future common interests. Not only must our interests today be pursued and realized, but we must also pursue our future interests and make up our minds to realize them. In this way, our society is bound to have common ideals. Such

ideals on our part are realizable; they have a scientific basis. That is to say, the realization of such ideals is inevitable; hence we also have common beliefs.

The fact that we have common beliefs and confidence includes both the present and the future. When speaking of belief, people often mean the future more than they do the present. If some people do not have enough belief in the future, then at least we ourselves, all our journalistic workers, all our revolutionaries must have such belief, and our belief in this regard is unshakable. Only thus can we persuade others. Some of our friends, some of our comrades, have sometimes said something like this: "I just don't have confidence." I wish these comrades would refrain from saying anything like that. Saying such a thing is spreading a kind of influence and spreading a kind of thinking, and it is bound to arouse a chain reaction. "Even so-and-so said he did not have any confidence," so then how could he make others have confidence? During the 4 May period, Lu Xun wrote in the "Improvisations" section of XIN QING NIAN [THE NEW YOUTH] expressing the hope that our youths would all have full confidence, eliminate the atmosphere of coldness and [encourage the idea] where there is a ray of warmth, there is a ray of light, and refrain from spreading the atmosphere of lacking confidence. It is harmful to spread such an atmosphere of lacking confidence; it may even be said to be immoral! This especially is not in accord with Communist Party members' revolutionary morality! Because it hinders the efforts of all of us; it hinders the common struggle of the people of our entire country for the realization of the cause of our modernization. If people have an opinion about something or about some person, then by all means present it. They can present it through all kinds of means, but do not let them spread this atmosphere of lacking confidence.

Because we have common interests, common ideals, and common beliefs, we therefore also have common moral standards. I have just said that spreading the atmosphere of lacking confidence may be said to be a violation of our present moral standards. We have many moral standards, and they do not of course mean one single thing. Our moral standards have been subject to sabotage, but they are being restored. For example, some time ago it was reported in the press that when a student at middle school No 108 fell in icy water, three comrades from the Liberation Army and several worker comrades all rushed forward to rescue him, and the rescue was successful. The teachers of middle school No 108 also exerted themselves to a certain extent in this matter. But at the time some people really did certain things they should not have done and said certain things they should not have said. But after reading this report, I still felt a kind of consolation. When some students said, "Members of the Liberation Army, the time for you to establish merits has arrived," or when they told the workers, "Perhaps you are thinking of joining the party," their attitude was wrong. But they also inadvertently acknowledged this premise: they acknowledged that the Liberation Army is the true defender of the interests of the people; they acknowledged that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the people. Therefore, even though they were but backward students, they still acknowledged these two points. Hence, I cannot say that our society today no longer has common moral standards, or that such standards have all fallen to the ground. Our moral standards are being restored, and everyone's effort is required. Yesterday's RENMIN RIBAO published a news item which indicated that Zhang Bin [1728 2430], the director of a factory in Qiqihar, was dismissed from party membership. A report in RENMIN RIBAO had prompted the disposal of this matter. RENMIN RIBAO's report was correct; Qiqihar's treatment of Zhang Bin was also correct. This shows that our society is undergoing changes, really undergoing changes

every day. Even though such changes do not take place fast enough and need to be prompted every day, we must first of all acknowledge that our society is changing daily in the right direction, and our moral standards are also daily recovering their strength. I hope all our journalistic workers can come forward to propagate this kind of common morality. Our newspapers have already done no small amount of work; what I am saying today is that I hope we not only can report many things but also can discuss and prove them logically, ideologically, and theoretically.

Since we have common interests, common ideals, common beliefs, and common morality, this also leads to our having common action and common struggle. Without what I have just said, a society can have common actions. We cannot say that a capitalist society does not have common action; nor can we say that there is no common action in a factory run by capitalists, because their factory sometimes acts even better than ours. But what I term common action is different from the common action that takes place in a capitalist society, because we act on the basis of common interests and for common goals. This means not just action in a small arena, but common action in the entire society, and this is something that cannot be realized or achieved in a capitalist country or in a country prior to capitalism. The reason why we can act together and why ours is a very effective kind of common action is because we have common leadership. In other countries, in capitalist countries, it is impossible to have this kind of common leadership. Sometimes, for example during the Second World War, we cannot say that Roosevelt did not lead the entire United States to struggle against fascism. But this kind of common leadership cannot be mentioned in the same vein as our common leadership. Our kind of common leadership penetrates all realms of our social life. It is possible that today in some corners this kind of common leadership is still not realized or not correctly and fully realized, but this by no means negates our common leadership. Our common leadership was sabotaged during the Cultural Revolution period, and sabotaged in a most serious way; but at that time the people still acknowledged in their minds the authority and power of this kind of common leadership. They therefore cherished this kind of common leadership and made efforts to restore this kind of common leadership; this was what led to the Tiananmen Incident. The Tiananmen Incident did not occur in order to sabotage our common leadership but to rebuild this kind of common leadership. When people cherished Comrade Zhou Enlai, they cherished not just him personally but also his cause, the party to which he dedicated himself, and the principles he followed throughout his life. Apart from these things, why should the people cherish Premier Zhou Enlai? If Comrade Zhou Enlai had not been a communist, if he had not been an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, if he had not struggled all his life according to the principles of the party and the principles of communism, then how could we explain the fact that he was cherished by the people? How could we explain the Tiananmen Incident? If some people wave the banner of the Tiananmen Incident but insist on opposing the leadership of the Communist Party, wish to dissolve the authority of the Communist Party in the minds of the people, and wish to stop the people from advancing toward the goals of struggle put forward by the party, then these people are practicing deception. They are not propagating the Tiananmen Incident but slandering it.

The reason our socialist society is powerful is because, just as we have said, it has so many common things; only on the basis of this consistency can there be common leadership. Even though this kind of common leadership was sabotaged during the

Cultural Revolution period, it has already been restored, and restored very well; it is acting and working very effectively. Today, the thinking of our party's leaders is very liberal. We must emancipate our thinking; this is not in any way a contradiction with our need to unite around the Party Central Committee, nor should there be any such contradiction. If some persons should forcibly create some contradiction, then this does not mean emancipating our thinking but, it may be said, it means casting our ideology with the liberalism of the bourgeoisie and becoming its slaves.

Our people have common action, common leadership, and common discipline. Discipline can be interpreted differently in different areas. To citizens of the whole country, this means the law; to the party, the Youth Corps, or other revolutionary organizations, it is called discipline; in some other areas, it may be said to be a kind of common norm of behavior. In a word, because we have such disciplinary rules under which we can carry out common action under a common leadership for a common goal, we not only have common moral norms, but such moral norms are materialized through the discipline of the common organization. It is in manner that the august power of socialism, to which nothing else in human history is comparable, is structured. Therefore, our socialist society has its superiority; our socialist society can advance faster than capitalism, and it is definitely going to be faster than it. We cannot reach the conclusion that socialism is not as good as capitalism just because we see in some aspects, and at some times, that capitalism advances faster and that socialism, in these same aspects and at these same times, advances slower. This is simply not the case. Socialism is still very young; during the course of its growth, it has suffered many hardships and gone down many tortuous roads. But even so, socialism as a whole still develops faster than capitalism. Today, socialism has not yet reached the level of the developed capitalist countries in many aspects--technology, labor productivity, and management. This is first of all because our point of departure has been too backward, too low. At the same time, it is also because, apart from the mistakes we have committed, many things which we should learn have still not been learned. But we are bound to learn them, and after we have learned them we of course are going to advance even faster. In some years in the past, the capitalist world has made certain faster advances. Comrade Huan Xiang [1360 6763] has interpreted this by saying that West Europe is already past its golden era. Not only is this the case with West Europe, but the entire capitalist is now experiencing a crisis; the spread of its development has already been reduced; and at present it is still not easy for it to find a way to escape that crisis. Many economists in capitalist countries also foresee that even after it gets out of the present crisis, the speed of development of capitalism will not be very fast. Therefore, we cannot harbor skepticism toward socialism just because some countries at some times in the past have enjoyed faster development whereas, in contrast, certain misfortunes have occurred in our own socialist state.

Comrades who have joined the Journalists Association! You are the guides of public opinion in society. Public opinion in society depends on comrades present today for its guidance. We hope that, through the comrades who have joined the Journalists Association--comrades working on revolutionary newspapers and journals and progressive newspapers and journals, we can all work together to propagate socialism's various kinds of superiority which capitalism is incapable of possessing. Our state has undergone difficulties, and today it still faces difficulties;

our comrades present must genuinely unite around the Party Central Committee and help the Party Central Committee quickly overcome such difficulties. The weapons in the possession of our comrades are all very powerful, and our comrades are very good at using the weapons in their hands. Therefore, as long as our comrades are determined to do so, are determined to do a good job of propagating these fundamental, essential strongpoints possessed by our socialist society--our society with its common interests, common ideals, common beliefs, common morality, common action, common leadership, and common discipline--then we should be in a position to make a very great contribution to the stability and unity of the whole society, and to greatly reduce certain factors of instability and disunity which still exist in our society.

After we have discussed so many common things, would there be a problem arising in our minds like this: All this being so, are we not going back to the days of "uniform public opinion"? Are we not going to lose our "freedom of expression"? Are we not going to be deprived of our "double-hundred principle"? Are we not going to lose our liveliness? This problem does exist among some of our comrades. In conclusion, therefore, we need to speak a few more words about this problem.

It is not that "uniform public opinion" is not needed in any sense. If by "uniform public opinion" we mean that uniformity is required in discussing any problem, any specific thing, then that would be inappropriate, impossible, not in accordance with the principles of socialism, and not in compliance with the requirements of socialism. But we cannot advance from this to the other extreme and think that public opinion in our socialist state, in our socialist society, should not be uniform on any problem and in any sense. For example, is socialism better or capitalism better, after all? Should China insist upon socialism or should she not, after all? For the same of building socialism and for the realization of the four modernizations, do we or do we not need the leadership of the party, after all? If anyone thinks that on problems like these we should not have uniform public opinion, then from my point of view that kind of thinking is not correct. On fundamental questions such as these, we are in fact "uniform." Precisely because of this, we are powerful. If we were not uniform even on these questions, then our steps would be confused. Some would be going east, some west, some south and some north, and our rank and file would not be able to march forward. Then we would not be able to unify our forces into a consistent body and speed toward our common destination; we would become split into fragments and could accomplish nothing.

Does the "freedom of expression" we advocate include counterrevolutionary freedom of expression? According to Article 102 of the Criminal Law passed by the National People's Congress last year, if someone calls for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship or opposition to the socialist system by way of posters, handbills, or other forms, he should be sentenced to 3 or more years' imprisonment. This is listed in the section on "counterrevolutionary" crimes. This means that, according to the Criminal Law passed by the National People's Congress, there is no freedom to proclaim counterrevolution. The view that proclaiming counterrevolution may also enjoy freedom is erroneous! Our newspapers should not publish such erroneous expressions and especially should not defend such erroneous views!

One opinion suggests that counterrevolutionary expressions should be allowed to be published freely. "You can debate with them! Why not refute counterrevolutionary

views with revolutionary views?" This suggestion seems to "sound reasonable," but this "reasoning" is not the reasoning of the proletariat and not the reasoning of Marxism; it is the reasoning of the bourgeois. If we were to let counterrevolutionary expressions spread freely and then seek to offset them with revolutionary expressions, this would, by analogy, be like allowing someone to commit arson and then dispatching the fire brigade to fight the fire. If this can be the case, and there are 100 persons setting fires, how many fire brigades should we have? How many people must join this kind of work? Take another example: If 100 persons spread 1,000 rumors in one day, how many people would we require in order to clearly investigate the facts related to those rumors and then declare that they are rumors and not facts? How much time would be needed for this? Perhaps even 10,000 persons spending 10 days would not be sufficient. Nay, before old rumors are cleared away, new rumors may be forthcoming; however hard you may work, your efforts would not suffice. In addition, even if you succeeded in correcting the rumors, how could you get all those who have heard the rumors to listen to your corrections and to believe your corrections? Therefore, for the sake of enabling our state to have sufficient strength and to concentrate this strength for the realization of the four modernizations, we cannot grant freedom to counterrevolutionary expressions. Our society is not a park where you can say things this way and someone else can say things that way, and after that nothing would happen, no flowers would be injured, no grass would be injured, no trees would be injured, and everyone would leave the park and go home. This is absolutely not the case. We absolutely cannot waste so much time and consume so much energy on such kinds of problems. Therefore I think the prescription of our Criminal Law is correct in this regard; we cannot grant freedom to counterrevolutionary expressions. That would be of benefit to none of us except those counterrevolutionary elements. In order to prove that our revolution is just, that socialism is just, and that socialism is superior to capitalism, we do not need to invite a number of people and let them proclaim that socialism is no good, that capitalism is good; and then refute them one by one. If we really proceeded this way, then it would be very difficult for our society to achieve stability and unity; nor would it be easy for us to give full scope to the superiority of socialism. Our country is very backward. The reason we are able to have certainty and confidence that we will catch up with the capitalist countries in a relatively short period (so-called relatively short is of course not very short) is because we have this kind of superiority which the capitalist countries cannot have. This being so, we certainly should not abandon our superiority or any part of it. We should not prove the superiority of socialism by adopting the method of granting freedom of counterrevolutionary speech.

We must propagate the superiority of our socialism. We call upon the people of the whole country to proceed with our common action on the basis of our common interests, for the sake of our common ideals, under our common leadership, and according to our common morality and common discipline. Only thus can we attain our goals and attain them relatively speedily. Otherwise, we will remain backward. Carrying out such a policy and propagating such a policy will not hinder our liveliness. The liveliness we demand is socialist liveliness--the kind of liveliness over which we need not debate with counterrevolutionary elements. Although we are sometimes forced to carry out such a debate, we do not expect to demonstrate our superiority in this regard, because we need to do too many things. We cannot waste our time on this. Hence, it is my hope that after this Journalists Association is thus established, it will be able to follow the principles put forward by Comrade Xiaoping in his report, unite, and give full play to the august revolutionary power of the weapon of journalism that is in our hands. Our cause is just; we are bound to be victorious. Thank you, everyone.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CASES OF MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE DISCLOSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Cui Min (1508 2404): "Violations of Law Must Be Investigated"]

[Text] Newspapers recently reported rulings on a number of cadres charged with violating law and discipline. Although the majority of the cases were handled properly, justice was not done to a few others. For example, some of the cadres who were found guilty of committing crimes were disciplined by the party and government actions but not tried by the court in accordance with the due process of law. The masses have complained that the punishment meted out to them seemed too light, saying that "handling criminal cases this way is a miscarriage of justice, which will incur the great wrath of the masses and will make the evil spirit prevail over righteousness." Such complaints from the masses have brought to light this sharp question: What should be done to preserve the dignity of the legal system and truly make all people equal before the law? This question should be dealt with seriously rather than lightly.

Disciplinary action and penal arrangement have nothing in common. The former is only a warning or an admonition to those who committed a misdemeanor, while the latter is a punitive action against law-offenders. Since few can entirely avoid making mistakes, it has long been our party's policy to permit people to commit and correct mistakes. Our party has consistently emphasized education as a principal measure to help comrades who have erred correct their mistakes. If necessary, it may also take disciplinary action against them as a supplementary form of ideological education aimed at helping them "learn from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones, and treat the illness in order to save the patient." But extremely stern measures should be taken against law-offenders. Under no circumstances should we tolerate or condone criminal acts. Punitive legal actions should be taken against criminals with the aim of protecting the people. For this reason, a clear line needs to be drawn between those who commit crimes and those who make mistakes, and between disciplinary action and penal arrangement. It is wrong to impose penalty on those who committed a misdemeanor which merits only disciplinary action. Nor is it right to just lightly discipline or reprimand those who committed felonies which deserve server punishment.

It is also wrong to exempt a party member, a cadre or a leading cadre from criminal liability if they are found guilty of crimes. Doing so is a manifestation of the pernicious residual influence of the feudal system once opposed by the bourgeoisie

which was the first to suggest that "all be equal before the law." As everyone knows, the idea of dividing society into classes was at the core of the entire feudal government system, which put into effect laws openly granting privileges to certain sections of people, thus creating social injustice. At the heart of its judicial system was the notion that "senior officials are above the law." This system which was handed down from one dynasty to another is still deeply rooted in China. Its principal role was to exempt any noble bureaucrats from criminal liability and punishment.

The existing laws in our country represent the interests and will of the working class and the broad masses of people. Once a law is enacted and signed into effect, it will carry a judicial power that will affect all regions, departments, units and individuals. Before the law, no one is an exception. The socialist legal system knows no classes and privileges. Anyone who is found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes should be dealt with according to the law, no matter how long his service, how high his position or how great his contributions to his country. Only in this way can the socialist legal system be consolidated and order and peace can long be maintained in our country. But ours is a country evolved from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old society, a country where the residual influence of the centuries-old feudal ideology still holds sway over our party and society at large. This being the case, no one should underestimate its destructive effect on the development of our socialist legal system. Under this influence, some people still consciously and unconsciously defend the idea that "senior officials are above the law," assuming that the laws are enacted to control the people alone and therefore have no binding effect on those leading cadres in authority. Some leading cadres who were found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes still believe that they can reasonably expect to have their sentences reduced or their crimes acquitted because of their length of service, positions and contributions to the nation. Perplexed by this argument, some of our law enforcement organs have become reluctant to indict them or bring other leading cadres and their children to justice after they were found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes since they have been disciplined by the party and reprimanded by the government. This idea is actually a variant of the notion that "senior officials are above the law." This muddle-headed idea or wrong way of thinking is bound to have detrimental effect on the interest of the party and our modernization program. We must insure that "violations of law are investigated" and all are truly equal before the law.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO DISTINGUISH FELONY FROM MISDEMEANOR EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Commentary by Zhang Zhiwen [1728 0037 5113]: "Farewell to 'Do Not Do It Again'"]

[Text] A recent report on the State Council's dispassionate and swift handling of the incident of the capsized "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform represents a radical departure from the past tradition which made the people believe that "senior officials are above the law." This report has also given the party and people throughout the country a profound education and has provoked deep thought among them. Excited by this report, some comrades have asked: Can this good example set by that central authority be followed by all lower level units? This question is not unjustified, because some leading cadres who were found guilty of violating discipline and law have been covered up with some seemingly reasonable and indisputable allegations and have henceforth been acquitted. Clearly, resolute and vigorous efforts have yet to be made to remove the obstacles that still stand in the way of our endeavor to eliminate such malpractices and to do people justice.

One of the obstacles that still prevents us from strengthening law and discipline is the seemingly plausible admonition "do not do it again" now being widely used by some units and departments to acquit law-offenders. For example, there are leading cadres who have been found guilty of building homes for themselves in violation of financial and economic discipline, abusing their power by winning special favors for their families through the "backdoor deals," aiding and abetting their delinquent children in showing contempt for law and justice, soliciting valuable gifts from foreign businessmen in disregard of our national dignity, using foreign exchange money to import merchandise for themselves, and dereliction of duty which has resulted in serious accidents causing damage to property and loss of lives. These are malpractices which cannot be tolerated by party discipline and state laws and are deeply resented by the people. Nevertheless, some higher leading organs assigned to handle such cases have shown reluctance to do anything about them, and have emphasized leniency rather than law and order in dealing with such cases. They even have resorted to all kinds of tactics to cover up and exonerate law-offenders, and have gone all out to defend them so as to prevent the law-enforcement organs from bringing them to justice. As a matter of formality, such cases often end up with a pledge "not to do it again" from the law-offenders after they have undergone some criticism. After taking note of this situation in which "the legal system is applied only to the masses but not the leading cadres, and party discipline is effective in controlling only those at the bottom but not those on top," many people have expressed skepticism over whether our laws and discipline can be completely and genuinely enforced throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, it is not only unreasonable but also illegal to acquit violators of law and discipline in exchange for their promise "not to do it again." This practice itself is not only an epic contempt of the law but a serious violation of our legal system. In this connection, a clear line needs to be drawn between violations of law and discipline and the general misdemeanor of shortcomings. For this reason, there should be different approaches to the handling of these two categories of legal cases. There are some cadres who may have committed ordinary mistakes. Such misdemeanor can be exonerated after they have undergone education and criticism and expressed their willingness to correct it. Yet, this policy is not applicable to the criminals who must be dealt with according to the due process of law, which cannot be replaced or nullified by their pledge "not to do it again," because all criminals must bear political, economic and legal responsibilities for what they have done. By emphasizing that all are equal before the law, we mean that the laws must be observed, and strictly enforced, and their violations must be investigated. In a sense, this stipulation is a reminder to the leading cadres that they cannot enjoy the privilege of standing above the law that has binding on all people. Further, any intention of deliberately acquitting a leading cadre found guilty of violating the law or sentencing him to less severe terms than necessary in consideration of his high position and strong backing is also a violation rather than an observance of the law. If we behave this way, how can we make the people trust us and how can we preserve the dignity of justice? It was said that the trend of seeking law-breakers' pledge "not to do it again" as a way of settling criminal cases is thriving on the reason that "it has long been our policy to permit the people to commit and correct mistakes." True, there has been a code of conduct for our party members that they should correct their mistakes as soon as they know they have committed them, and that they will be forgiven as soon as they do so. In other words, they are permitted to commit and correct mistakes. But this should not be regarded as an excuse for condoning and exonerating violations of law and discipline. But offenses must be dealt with according to the law on a case-by-case basis. The process of penalizing violators of law and discipline is in itself an educational measure to teach them to learn from their past mistakes, and to punish one as a warning to a hundred others. Punishment of violators of law and discipline is also not an indication that they have been deprived of opportunities to mend their ways. If we throw away the party discipline and state laws and if we only take a law-breaker's promise "not to do it again" at its face value, in lieu of any other legal actions, we will fail in our duty to teach him a lesson, give the masses an education, and uphold the social order. If we allow this practice to take the place of the law, the crime rate is certain to rise, thus making a mockery of our laws and discipline. It appears likely that some offenders who pledge "not to do it again" after being subjected to criticism may go back on their word and may commit crimes again and again because they feel that they can profit from this kind of illegal business at the expense of the party and people. At the same time, the inferiors may follow suit after noting that their superiors found guilty of crimes were exonerated. If a leading cadre is not brought to justice after offending the laws, he will set a bad example for others to follow, crime will run out of control, and law and order will become an empty slogan. For this reason, the view that the admonition "do not do it again" can take the place of law and discipline as the only measure to help the people mend their ways is entirely untenable. Facts show that some leading organs and leading cadres who know the law well have deliberately used the admonition "do not do it again" as a good excuse for condoning and exonerating crimes committed by their subordinates. By doing so, they can also conceal their

own wrongdoings from the public. Of course, every cadre must hold himself responsible for what he has done. But the problem is that those leading organs and leading cadres who want to cover up crimes committed by their subordinates are not clean themselves in every sense. This is why those lower level cadres associated with them have become so bold to commit crimes and violate the law without fear of being caught. This being the case, in order to cover up their own mistakes and absolve themselves from any responsibility, those high level leading organs and leading cadres are willing to use that graceful and ingenuous admonition "do not do it again" as a measure to acquit their subordinates so that they can reduce major issues to minor ones and minor ones to naught. In view of this, the admonition "do not do it again" can be used not only as a coverup of their mistakes and unlawful acts but also as a haven in which they can enjoy mutual protection. To strengthen law and discipline, we must give up the admonition "do not do it again" as a way of condoning wrongdoings. No one should be permitted to enjoy the privilege of standing above the law no matter how high his position and how great his power. This is the only right thing we must do.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HALT TO PRACTICE OF INTERCEDING ON BEHALF OF FRIENDS, RELATIVES URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Zhou Zongkui [6650 1350 1145] and Chen Xiande [7115 6343 1795]: "Stop the Practice of Interceding for People"]

[Text] If the "best work" is to be selected from among the novels that criticize present-day evils, we shall cast one vote for Wang Meng's "Shuo Ke Ying Men (A Houseful of Persuasive Visitors)."

When a manager of a paste factory imposed punishment on an employee according to regulations, people came to intercede for him 199.5 times within a 12-day period due to the fact that this employee was the son of a cousin of the District Party Committee Secretary. A theoretician who happened to be the manager's older brother-in-law hung around for a total of 21 hours. In addition some interceded by telephone, totaling 33 times; and there were 33 intercessions by telephone and 27 by letter.

The novel has apparently been written in an exaggerated way but, in real life, there are truly quite a few phenomena like this. During a period as short as one week, namely, from the 9th until the 16th of August, there were, in two newspapers, three pieces of news about intercession were reported: BEIJING RIBAO reported on 9 August that, after the exposure of the criminal activities of the three children of some high-ranking cadres, the mother of criminals Xu Yu Wan and Xu Yu Qi, Wang Yong, who was also a state cadre, not only failed to expose and report them to the authorities but, on the contrary, went around to all the places to intercede on their behalf.

JENMIN RIBAO reported on 11 August that a young worker of a certain refining and compressing plant, named Sun Li Qiang, had committed robbery and had thus been sentenced. His father, Sun You Liang, a state cadre, took advantage of his office to seek help from his former leaders, colleagues and associates, totaling 28 men, to intercede for his son in various ways so as to free him from the responsibility for his crime.

BEIJING RIBAO reported on 16 August that, after the Security Bureau's Zhao Yang Branch Office had exposed through its detective activities a case of a smuggling band organized chiefly by the children of cadres, some of the parents of the band members wrote, some telephoned, and some begged their relations and friends to contact the public security organs to intercede on their children's behalf. There were 20 cases of some of these parents visiting the public security office to intercede in person.

The energies of such enthusiastic interceders have reached astonishing proportions. The masses look on it askance; public opinion is confused. Its influence is extremely bad.

When did intercession start? It requires further study. Nevertheless, there is one thing we are sure about: it started in ancient times. "The History of the Three Kingdoms" recorded: Zhou Yin, Zhou Yu's second son, happened to be married to a member of the imperial family. He was later given the title of general and marquis. Because of a crime he committed while "indulging in sensual pleasures" he was removed from his post and awaited further punishment after due investigation. Thereupon Zhu Ge Jin and Bu Zhi took the lead to intercede for the marquis and memorialized the throne jointly. Quoting classics, they implored Sun Quan to consider Zhou Yu's case and to show mercy and release Zhou Yin. Subsequently, Zhu Ran, Quan Zong and many others followed suit. Sun Quan at first was obstinate but could not stand a houseful of persuasive visitors and in the end bent the law out of consideration for relatives. Anyone can intercede as long as he has a mouth. Among the interceders we find both patricians and plebians. In so far as their efficiency and accomplishment are concerned, however, there is a great difference between the two. The minimum requirements for one to succeed in interceding are: a) having special privilege, b) having connections, c) having a high degree of feelings, and d) being shameless. What is especially important is the first factor. A common citizen, without support from someone who possesses special privileges may find his words ignored by his party completely notwithstanding that he has a face full of mouths. Intercession by those who have power and influence are easily successful because influential officials can "protect each other". It is thus clear that intercession is, from the outset, linked with special privilege. In the feudal ages, the feudal class' special privileges were shown not only in its members' taking government positions generation after generation but also in the fact that "laws were not applied to influential and officials." Often the safeguarding of such privileges was inseparable from the art of intercession. When a certain influential feudal official or his relatives happened to violate the criminal law and had to be investigated, the other influential officials would set out one after another to intercede for him with great effort and repeatedly. A major problem could be explained as a minor one, and a minor one explained away, with the result that a matter might be left unsettled. Although sometimes the were "upright Mr Bao's", this was extremely rare. All in all, "to intercede for people" was a product of the feudalistic special privileges. At the same time, it served to protect these special privileges. The practice of interceding for people in our society today is actually a tradition we have inherited from the distant past. This tendency has become more severe because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wreaked havoc for 10 years. It seems that, if we want to stop the practice of interceding, we must uproot the feudalistic ideology of special privilege.

The crux of the matter in checking the practice of interceding for people, I am afraid, besides scolding and punishing the interceders, is to grasp those who practice favoritism. In fact, intercession is like flattery. The reason why the interceder can succeed, besides the fact that he has skill at wagging his tongue is chiefly because there are men who practice favoritism. Imagine, if a man is impartial and incorruptible, upright and does not flatter, does not practice favoritism and does not bend the law, even if interceders flock through the door, what good will it do? Some leading cadres have said, "It is certainly good for a man to behave like this, but I am afraid that he will probably be divorced from the masses." This alibi is, in fact, groundless. If a man can be divorced from the masses by enforcing the laws impartially, then wouldn't bending the law out of favoritism be the best means of

strengthening ties with the masses? Is this a logical argument at all? To be impartial and incorruptible will definitely mean being "divorced" from an extremely small number of interceders and will offend some people whose special privileges mentality is strong. But what's wrong with this sort of "divorce?" The broad masses will surely give warm support to it. All in all, to be a member of the Communist Party, a leader and enforcer of laws, one must have the spirit of "not being bent by power and force" as well as the spirit of "as an official if I cannot support the people, I would rather go home and sell my sweet potatoes," i.e., the willingness of acting like the "upright Mr Bao." Otherwise, all such slogans as "any law that exists must be obeyed; any person who violates the laws must be dealt with" will become empty phrases. "The members of the Communist Party are steel, not paste!" The expression made by the main character in "A Houseful of Persuasive Visitors" is quite worthy for some of our comrades to give deep thought to. When confronted with the practice of intercession, are you a piece of "steel" or a pot of "paste"?

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PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' DEFENDS POLICY OF GOING BACK TO OLD ROAD

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 80 p 5

[Commentary by LIAONING RIBAO commentator originally published by LIAONING RIBAO of 6 October 1980: "On 'Returning to the Old Road'"]

[Text] When the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, there were many political labels in circulation. Today, a few remain in circulation although most of them have been consigned to the garbage heaps of history. One of these political labels termed "returning to the old road" is still darting around to sting the people in the back these days.

For example, we heard this "gunshot": "They are leading us back to the old road again," when many localities this year scored fruitful results from the trial implementation of the system of division of responsibility for production designed to fully mobilize commune members to spur the development of agriculture. In the dictionary of the "gang of four," "returning to the old road: means restoring capitalism, or an inexcusable crime. A "gunshot" like that could send shivering cold waves through the bones of those people with lingering fear, silence those relatively outspoken people and provoke others determined to defend that system with this remark: "We are not led back to the old road; we are now on the move forward."

As a matter of fact, "returning to the old road" is not dreadful at all, for people sometimes may find themselves in a position where they will have no alternative but to turn back. This is a kind of life. It is humane for the people to return to the old road when they find that they have been following a wrong way for too long. Otherwise, they may get lost. People moving past their destination must also trip back a few miles or so. Otherwise, they may move too far away from their destination. Even a foot soldier engaged in close fighting has to move backward a few steps before he can thrust forward. Only a fool or the insane will unreasonably thrust forward after reaching a dead alley or impassable swamps which may cost him his life, and will call this "an heroic act in defiance of storms," or "revolutionary advance." The same is true of building socialism. Our socialist practice must go through a period of trial. In this connection, there is no straight road laid out for us. This road always follows a zigzag pattern. Sometimes, we may have to retreat if we want to make progress. Only in this way can we accumulate experiences and find a right path. There is literally no point of no return in this world. Everyone sometimes has to go back a little bit before he can make progress. This was true in the past and is still true

today. This truth is also applicable in the future. "The road ahead is winding and long; one has to explore it carefully all the way." This proverb also presents a sense of the inevitability of returning to the old road.

The proponents of the system of division of responsibility have been accused of leading the people back to the old road. One of the accusers' main reasons is that this system was old stuff of the 1950's and the 1960's and therefore cannot be applied in the 1980's. They asked: if this is not a "restoration of the old order and retrogression," what is it? This question seems sharp. Nevertheless, they have consigned this basic Marxist principle to oblivion: Whether a relation of production is progressive or not depends on whether it spurs or hampers the development of the productive forces and whether it is in harmony with it; the question does not lie in whether "it has been used or not ever before." The fact that this system was effective in the past and remains so today clearly indicates that it meets the desired standards for developing the productive forces, and is welcomed by the masses. How could anyone call it a "retrogression"? We will be guilty of glorifying capitalism if we call everything useful capitalist stuff.

This political label obviously still holds sway over those comrades who have proven incapable of smashing the shackles of the left-deviationist ideology. For a long time, this theory has been in vogue: The progressive, revolutionized and socialized relations of production must be large in scale and all-inclusive. This mistaken idea has driven many people to embark on adventures in violations of the objective laws. Under its influence, they even tried to accomplish things, that in Lenin's language will take years to complete, in a few days or a few months. Capitalizing on this mistaken idea to their advantage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" blatantly called on the nation to "continuously revolutionize the relations of production," to "persevere in moving forward and opposing retrogression," to "tide over the period of poverty," and to "promote the Dazhai experiences." Consequently, they did serious damage to the social productive forces, bringing the national economy to the verge of bankruptcy. Could we blindly go on after we were misled for such a long time? Should or should not we go back to the socialist road? Few know the answer better than the masses, who said: "The problem is not that we must return to the old road but that we have passed and missed the point of our destination long ago." Only by coming to grips with this philosophy can the vast numbers of cadres and people further emancipate their minds, deepen their understanding of the party's new policies and new measures, and reform our systems with courage. In short, when we are talking about "returning to the old road," we must be aware of what kind of road is laid out for us to go back to. It goes without saying that we will resolutely resist going back to capitalism. We will be pleased to see our country return to the embrace of scientific socialism. To those who attempt the term "retrogression" as a magic weapon to intimidate and inhibit us from reforming our system, we want to pass along this message: "What you said is damn right! We certainly want to beat a quick retreat whenever we find that the road we follow leads to a dead alley. However, we want to assure you that we will never return to the capitalist road. Just as Lenin taught us, 'a retreat is designed for a better and more forceful leap forward!'"

PARTY AND STATE

POSSIBILITIES, ACTUALITY IN MATERIALIST DIALECTICS ANALYZED

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 25 Feb 80
pp 27-31

[Article by Ren Yulong [0117 3768 7127]: "On Possibilities"]

[Text] Possibilities and actuality are a pair of basic categories in materialist dialectics. Here, we shall inquire primarily into the category of possibilities.

(1) Relationship between possibilities and impossibilities. What are called possibilities are tendencies toward certain types of development of things that have not achieved complete maturity on an objective basis and under prerequisite conditions. "Objective basis" indicates an internal contradiction in a thing, an internal contradiction being an internal cause of the development of thing. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Internal causes are the bases of change." "Prerequisite conditions" indicate the external contradictions of a thing, i.e., that there is a relationship of unity and opposition between this thing and other things. They are the external causes of the development of things, "external causes being the conditions of change." Internal causes and external causes are present at the same time and exert their effects at the same time. The combining of internal and external causes with internal causes being dominant provide the two types of causes of the development and change of all things. It is also the inherent basis and the essential external condition for the production of possibilities. Possibilities are the tendencies that are produced in the process of development and change of things. Although there are definite bases and conditions for them, these bases and conditions have not yet matured. Before the problem of who is to win and who is to lose in a struggle between two sides of a contradiction has basically been resolved, the destruction of old things and the birth of new things serve merely as possibilities and do not determine an invariant reality. The category of possibilities only reflects the direction and prospects of development of two sides of a contradiction in the process of struggle and there is an essential distinction between it and actuality: Possibilities indicate the struggle between two sides of a contradiction and tendencies toward

development, whereas actuality indicates the results of who achieved victory and who was defeated in a struggle between two sides of a contradiction and is the resolution of a contradiction. Actuality indicates that a thing in which life exists is a possibility that has been realized, whereas a possibility indicates that a thing that may emerge in the future is at present something that does not exist.

There is not only an essential distinction between possibilities and actuality, but there is also an essential distinction between them and impossibilities. The distinction between them and impossibilities lies in the following: There is not an objective basis for them. When in the course of development of a thing it cannot be transformed into a corresponding thing because it lacks a definite objective basis, we say that this phenomenon is not possible. There are two types of impossibilities. The first type are those impossibilities which, because they lack all objective basis, cannot rise to become possibilities under any conditions and which cannot be transformed into actuality, being forever unrealizable. These are called "absolute impossibilities." For example, a stone can never hatch a chick. "Perpetual motion" is something that can never be achieved. The inherent nature of imperialism and reactionary classes can never be changed. Because the intrinsic qualities of a thing are inherent internal determinative characteristics of a thing, it cannot remain itself if its intrinsic qualities change. The boundary between impossibilities of this kind and possibilities is absolute and cannot be changed. The second type are those impossibilities that originally do not have an objective basis and that are basically impossible at a given time. However, as things develop and as social practice and the level of consciousness of the people become elevated, these original impossibilities can become transformed into possibilities. For example, "Chang'e Runs Away to the Moon" is a magnificent popular traditional fairy tale that has been well-known for several thousand years. "Running away to the moon" was basically impossible in the past. But now, because of the rapid development of industry and scientific technology, more than ten human beings have in succession have flown in space vehicles and have succeeded in landing on the moon. They have even brought back several hundred kilograms of rocks and soil from the moon, thus realizing the fantasy of "running away to the moon." As another example, in the age of laissez-faire capitalism, it was not possible for the socialist revolution to obtain its first victory in a nation. However, in the age of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, this impossibility was transformed into a possibility. Thus, it can be seen that the boundary between some impossibilities and possibility is not absolute and invariable but is, rather, relative and variable. These are called "relative impossibilities."

On the other hand, can possibilities be transformed into impossibilities? There are two situations here as well. The first type is one in which the essential tendencies of the development of a thing have been embodied, indicating that the old thing has died out and that there is the possibility of the birth of new things. From a long-term standpoint, this possibility cannot be transformed into an impossibility. For example, the possibility

of the realization of the Four Modernizations in our country and the possibility of a final world victory for communism are possibilities that are inevitable, that conform to law and that can never be altered. The second type are those possibilities for which there was a certain objective basis at the time of their production but of which the bases were not established on the basis of objective laws and which were brought about because of various chance factors. For these reasons, they are very unstable and can disappear very easily. When the original objective basis has disappeared, possibilities that have been established on such a basis also disappear. Thus, possibilities can be transformed into impossibilities. This type of phenomenon is also very frequent. For example, after the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, a situation developed in which two regimes were present at the same time. Lenin, on the basis of the circumstance that the provisional government of the capitalist class lacked the means of force, raised the slogan, "All political power to the soviets," foreseeing that there was the "possibility for peaceful development of the entire revolution." Later, the provisional capitalist government, having made thorough preparations, got control of such apparatuses of force as the armed forces and the police, and, in July carried out a bloody suppression of the demonstrations of the masses, thus terminating the state of two regimes being present together. This resulted in the disappearance of the possibility for the peaceful development of the revolution, a possibility having been transformed into an impossibility. Without delay, Lenin changed the tactics of his struggle and proposed a policy of armed uprising, in the end using violent revolution to overthrow the provisional capitalist government and to obtain the great victory of the October Revolution.

(2) Analyzing possibilities from the standpoint of quality and quantity. All things and phenomena have the determinative characteristics of both quality and quantity and are unities of quality and quantity. Simply by carrying out qualitative and quantitative analyses of things, it is possible to get an overall grasp of things. What are quality and quantity of possibility?

First, let us consider its quality. Possibility itself is not matter. Rather, it is a basic mode whereby material things are commonly related to each other. It reflects the relationships between material things in terms of tendencies toward development and change and is a bond linking things in the past, the present and the future. Actual things existing in the present are the results of transformations of possibilities of the past, while existing things contain the possibilities for the production of new things. Once their bases and conditions have matured, these types of possibilities can become transformed into new actualities. This type of mutual transformation between possibilities and actualities repeats itself in endless cycles. With each cycle, a thing can develop to a new stage. This is the dialectical process of the development of things.

Why is it that things develop the possibility of transformation to actuality? This is the result of the struggle between contradictions. The insides of all things are permeated by contradictions. Each contradiction is divided into two antitheses and there is unity and struggle between these two antitheses as a consequence of which impetus is given to the movement and transformation of things. The two antitheses of a contradiction are, qualitatively, basically antagonistic to each other, and, in tendencies of development, are completely relative to each other. Consequently, at the same time and place and under the same conditions, a thing has two relative possibilities of development. One of these represents the inevitable tendency of development of the thing and is a progressive and good possibility. The other runs counter to the inevitable laws of development of a thing and is a regressive, bad possibility. A seed that is planted in the earth may sprout or it may not sprout. A person who comes down with a serious illness may be cured or may not be cured. These two types of qualitatively relative possibilities are both produced on definite objective bases. All that is necessary for them to be transformed into actuality is for the essential and sufficient conditions to be present. The key lies in ascertaining of which possibility the bases and conditions are more adequate and more mature. Of these two relative possibilities, there is only one possibility that becomes transformed into actuality. Both of them cannot become transformed into actuality at the same time. The realization of one possibility signifies the destruction of another relative possibility. However, from the standpoint of the objective historical laws of the development of things, the possibilities that represent the inevitable tendencies in the development of things are ultimately certain to triumph over bad possibilities. This victory is inevitable and irresistible. For example, in a socialist society, there is the contradiction that new communist factors and old remnants of capitalism exist together at the same time. Consequently, there are two relative possibilities for development in a socialist society. One of these is a gradual transition toward communism. This is historically inevitable. The other is a backwards retrogression toward restoration of the old order. Retrogression toward restoration of the old order is nothing more than a temporary, chance phenomenon and is an exceptional manifestation of the tortuous character of the development of things. Even if a bad possibility becomes transformed into actuality, in the course of its realization it will come to contain new factors that negate it. These new factors have the possibility of final victory.

In the foregoing, I have distinguished between two types of relative possibilities in terms of their basic dissimilarities in character. However, among possibilities of the same character, one can also differentiate between the two types, direct possibilities and indirect possibilities, on the basis of differing degrees of maturity of their objective bases and prerequisite conditions. There are some possibilities which, because they are basically endowed with objective bases and various conditions, can quickly be turned into actuality simply through subjective effort. These are called "direct (or actual) possibilities." There are other possibilities that are still very far from the bases and conditions of realization and that can only be

realized at a later stage of development. These are called "indirect (or nonactual) possibilities." For a possibility to become transformed into actuality it must undergo a process of development and is always realized gradually from the remote to the near. First, there is an indirect possibility that undergoes development to become a direct possibility, after which the direct possibility is then transformed into actuality. The transformation from possibility to actuality is a qualitative change and is a leap. However, before this there must be a cumulative process of quantitative change. An indirect change at first is no more than something latent that is an embryonic stage. All that is necessary is for it to undergo continuous consolidation and development and uninterrupted expansion of its own position for it to undergo a gradual transition from an abstract, indirect possibility to a direct possibility. We cannot separate indirect and direct possibilities nor can we place them on a par with each other, ignoring the intrinsic relationships between them. Further, we cannot solidify them as if a direct possibility is a certain way from the outset without undergoing a process of development or that an indirect possibility is forever distant and indistinct and cannot be realized. Food must be eaten mouthful by mouthful, a road must be walked step by step and the tasks of revolution and construction must be completed in sequence. During the period of the democratic revolution in our country, the indirect possibility for a socialist revolution lay latent. Each time the democratic revolution took a step forward, the possibility for a socialist revolution increased slightly. The victory of the democratic revolution resulted in the indirect possibility for a socialist revolution becoming elevated to a direct possibility.

Next, we shall analyze possibility from the standpoint of quantity. The quantity of a possibility refers to the magnitude of a possibility and to the extent of its magnitude. The magnitude of a quantity of this kind can be measured mathematically using the theory of probability. For example, if cotton seeds are planted in the earth, we can say that there is the possibility that they will germinate and emerge. But just how great is this possibility? Is it a matter of a small number of individual germinations or is it a matter of a large number or total germination? If there were 400 cotton seeds and all of them germinated, then the frequency of this event would be $400/400 = 100\%$. The probability that a seed would germinate would be 1, i.e., 100 percent. If many repeated tests are conducted under similar conditions of air temperature, soil and moisture content, the greater is the number of tests the more accurately they will express the magnitude of the possibility. If all of the seeds germinated in each test, then there would be a transformation from the initial "chance event" to a "necessary event," with what was originally only possible becoming necessary. Under conditions of this kind, possibility and necessity coincide with each other. Necessity can be seen as a special condition of possibility. It is one-hundred percent possibility and it is absolute necessary possibility. Judged from the standpoint of quantitative relationships, it is the possibility of a probability of 1. At the same time, there is the possibility of "not germinating," the probability of which is zero. This type of

possibility declines to become an impossibility. Thus, from the quantitative relationship, it can be clearly seen that the complete transformation of a possibility into an actuality means the complete disappearance of another antagonistic possibility.

The contradictions in the world are complex and the development of and changes in things are subject to the restrictions of many-sided factors. One-hundred percent possibility without any chance necessity does not exist either in the natural world or among social phenomena. Even if one has the most excellent seed and even if its possibility of germinating is very great, it is nevertheless subject to such chance factors as natural conditions in its environment, with the possibility existing that it will not germinate. Suppose that we plant 400 cotton seeds and that 390 seeds germinate, while 10 do not germinate. Then, the frequency of germination of the 400 cotton seeds would be $390/400 = 97.5\%$ and the probability of germination would be 0.975. The frequency of not germinating would be $10/400 = 2.5\%$, with the probability being 0.025. When the two are compared with each other, it is evident that the possibility of germination is far far greater than the possibility of not germinating. If 200 seeds germinated and 200 did not germinate, then the possibilities of germinating and of not germinating would each be one-half. These are "events of equal possibility," i.e., the two opposite possibilities are equal. If not one seed comes out, then the frequency of germination is zero. In this case, the possibility of germination becomes transformed to an "impossible event." Impossibility is the complete opposite of necessity. If two incompatible, diametrically opposite possibilities exist in the same thing during the same process of development, they are called "mutually antagonistic events." The sum of the possibilities of this type of event is a necessary event and their probability is 1, i.e., $P(A + \bar{A}) = 1$. Thus, to analyze this in terms of quantitative relationships, an increase in one type of possibility means a relative decrease in another relative possibility. The complete realization of one possibility means that it has been elevated from a possibility to a necessity and that it has become an "absolute possibility." However, the other possibility that is opposed to it is completely eliminated and falls from being a possibility to being an "absolute impossibility."

Analyzing the magnitude of possibilities in terms of quantitative relationships is very important to us in getting a grasp of the basic tendencies of the development of things. In whatever activity we undertake, we must "have numbers in our brains." For example, in checking the quality of the products of a factory, it is generally considered that there are two possibilities, i.e., that there are products that meet the standards and that there may be products that do not meet the standards. But which of these possibilities is greater? One cannot make a general estimate; rather one must carry out a detailed quantitative analysis in which spot checking of the products is carried out. The greater is the frequency of the spot checks and the greater is the number of spot checks each time, the more accurate the results of the tests will be. If the frequency of products that meet the standards comes closer and closer to a constant, for example, 99.9%

(ratio of products meeting standards and number sampled) as the result of repeated sampling, then we can say that the probability that the products of the factory will meet the standards is 0.999, thus conforming to quality requirements and indicating that the product is excellent. If it is 85-90%, this is a generalization. If the probability of defective goods is equal to or greater than the probability of goods meeting the standards, then there are serious problems regarding the products of the factory that must be rectified within a limited period. Earthquake predictions and weather reports are like that. One cannot simply say that something is "possible." One must also say how great the possibility is. When we analyze any problem, we must not only consider it from a qualitative standpoint, but we must also consider it from the standpoint of quantitative relationships. This is because "All qualities are expressed as definite quantities, there being no quality if there is no quantity" (MAO ZEDONG XUANSHU [Collected Saying of Mao Zedong], Vol. 4, page 1380). It is only through the quantitative relationships that the qualitative connections and distinctions can be seen. The essence of science lies in its precision. If something is not precise, it cannot be called science. As science and technology have developed, mathematics has been applied more and more widely in various fields of science. This is an important sign of the day-by-day perfection of the natural sciences and the social sciences.

(3) Relationships between the objectivity of possibilities and the subjective activity of people. What is the objectivity of possibilities? That is to say that possibilities are the objective tendencies in the development of things. It is closely related to objective things and to the laws of their development. The production of a possibility is the result of the internal contradictions of a thing becoming its objective basis. The development of a possibility is the result of the struggle between the two sides of a contradiction becoming its motive power. The realization of a possibility requires definite conditions. A possibility is essentially a latent realization; it is actuality in an embryonic and germinative state. A possibility is the objective and common form of relation in the course of the development of a thing. Its existence and development are not diverted by the subjective wills of people. People cannot make or eliminate possibilities at will. However, this is not to say that people are powerless in the face of possibilities. Through practical activity in remoulding the objective world, people can come to understand the various possibilities for the development of a thing and can select the best possibility among the various possibilities present at the same time, actively creating conditions and accelerating the transformation of a particular possibility toward realization while doing everything possible to avoid or slow the transformation of bad possibilities into actuality.

The key to whether a possibility can be transformed into actuality lies in conditions. In the natural world, conditions develop gradually and spontaneously, and, without the participation of human beings, possibilities can also spontaneously change into actualities. However, in the sphere of

social activity, the situation is completely different. The essential factor in social activity are human beings and not things so that apart from the practical activity of human society possibilities cannot become realized spontaneously. Although human beings cannot create laws and possibilities, they can and must create conditions. Conditions, from a state of nonexistence to a state of existence and from immaturity to maturity, are the result of the practical activities of human beings. There are objective and subjective conditions. Objective conditions are various types of objective factors that exist apart from and independently of the subjective will of human beings, while subjective conditions refer to the level of ideological awareness and the degree of subjective effort of human beings. When an objective basis and a basis of objective conditions exists, the subjective effort of human beings is the definitive force that impels possibilities to become transformed into actualities. To negate objective bases and essential conditions and to view possibilities as things that can be followed according to one's inclinations is a manifestation of the "indeterminism" of idealism. On the other hand, negation of the action of subjective activity on the transformation of possibilities is a manifestation of "fatalism." It is negative and inactive and it is one of the theoretical bases of the way of thinking of the coward and the sluggard.

In our practical work, we must deal with the relationship between good possibilities and actualities. When we do any piece of work, we must start out from practice and manage the work on the basis of actual conditions. Lenin has pointed out that, "The policies of Marxism are things based on reality and do not take probable things as their bases." (LENING QUANSHU [Complete Works of Lenin], Vol. 35, page 256). In dealing with a problem, we must base ourselves in actuality and do a good job of the work at hand. However, we must also see through to the following tendency of development and strive to achieve good prospects. Actuality is the foundation, while possibilities belong to the category of the ideal. The two are the relationship between the present and the long-term. If we insist on doing something today that will only be possible to do in the future, this is a "Left" deviation. On the other hand, if we put off to the future something that it is possible to do today, taking the view that it cannot be done, then it is impossible. This is Right deviation. "Left" deviations and Right deviations break the relationship between possibility and actuality, although from different aspects.

There are some of our comrades who hold that, in our socialist nation, possibilities can become realized spontaneously. It is an error to confuse possibilities with actuality. For example, planned proportionate development at a highly rapid rate is an objective law of socialist economic development. Before a law has been realized, it exists only in a state of possibility that is not equivalent to actuality. A highly rapid rate is a possibility that is produced on the basis of the superior socialist system. In order to transform this possibility into a true actuality, various conditions must be provided. There are two of these that are of the greatest importance. The first is correct leadership by the Party and the second is reliance on the

subjective effort of all of the people of the nation. It is only when work on all fronts has been done well that it is possible for realization to occur smoothly at a highly rapid rate. The rate at which realization of the Four Modernizations occurs progresses in direct proportion to the extent of the effort of the entire Party, the entire military force and all of the people of the nation. Let us use our own industriousness and labor to accelerate the transformation of the Four Modernizations from a possibility to an actuality.

10019

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FOUR MODERNIZATIONS IN NEED OF ALL KINDS OF TALENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 80 p 8

[Article by Xu Diankun [1776 7820 35402]: "The Big Fellow in Wu Dalang's Store"]

[Text] The comic cartoon "Wu Dalang Opens a Store" is really interesting. The proprietor Wu Dalang cannot stand talent. He will not allow any employee in the store to be taller than he. Such laughable ideas and excellent drawings. When people see it they start thinking about other things and become aware of things not in the cartoon. I have wondered. What would be the fate of some capable big fellow who came to work in Wu Dalang's store? As Wu Dalang's custom was not to hire anyone taller than he, the big fellow would be chased out, or if he stayed he would have to stoop and bend. If the big fellow ever stood up tall or raised his head and let the proprietor notice that he was taller, or if a guest said that the big fellow was taller than Wu Dalang, then he would suffer the ire of the boss.

The leaders of some of our units are jealous of talent. They have some of the laughable ideas of Wu Dalang, who will allow no one to work in his shop who is taller than he. They often suppress or attack talented persons. Some persons undauntedly work on technical innovations, but when they have some success, they not only cannot get the support of the leaders of their own unit, but they suffer all sorts of attacks. Some people work night and day on scientific research, but when they make some discovery and are praised by members of their own profession they are not given recognition by their own unit. The expression "When flowers bloom inside the wall, they color the outside of the wall as well" is well respected in society but is cause for lowering one's esteem in one's own unit. Some people write literary compositions in their spare time. They have made contributions to theoretical research, and are often published in periodicals and newspapers. However, they are despised by the leaders of their own units, who make them wear hats saying "fame seeker" and "not doing one's own proper job," and life is made difficult for them. Some people are very capable, energetic, have a strong sense of duty, are concerned about the work of their own units, and actively make reasonable suggestions. Not only are they not praised, but they are suppressed in many ways. In these units the "little fellow" can get by with some effort, but it is really rough for the "big fellow." He is forced to wear an inlaid "golden hoop" hat and forced to wear high-heeled glass slippers. He is only allowed to bow his head and stoop. He is not allowed to hold his head up and brace his shoulders. What crime has the "big fellow" committed? His only crime is being taller than the proprietor.

At the time of Wu Dalang, there was a common scholar by the name of Wang Lun . He was very narrowminded. He was very intolerant. He made trouble for Lin Chong everywhere. He chilled the hearts of heroes everywhere. Even the three Ruan heroes who lived near Liangshan did not dare to go up the mountain. Of course, there was no way Liangshan could become strong. Only after Chao Gai and Wu Yong, moral and talented persons, went to Liangshan and recruited all the heroes in the country did the cause of Liangshan prosper daily and did Liangshan become famous. For the four modernizations, we need all kinds of talent. We have to use talented persons to the utmost. We cannot be jealous of or suppress talent. Whether or not people are used affects the success or failure of the four modernizations. Those who get such people will prosper; those who lose such people will fail. Some leaders of certain units had better think about this.

9559

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

USE OF AIR RAID SHELTERS FOR PEACETIME PURPOSES URGED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by TIANJIN RIBAO reporters Xiao Huo [5135 3752] and Deng Yuhe [6772 3768 3109]: "Don't Forget the Underground"]

[Text] Over the years, the proportional relationship between the "bones" and the "flesh" of Tianjin municipality has been seriously lost; not only is housing tight, but for a long time there have not been enough public facilities and public places. Are there now in the municipality empty rooms that can be used?

Yes! Right under your feet!

They are the underground civil air defense works. In the construction of these works, we have, over the years, invested a large amount of capital, cement, reinforcing bars, and sweat. For the most part, all the works that were hastily built before 1972 are already on the verge of becoming abandoned "inundated areas." Those built after 1974, according to shelter-grade standards, only need a little repair and tidying up to be put to all kinds of uses.

The other day we paid a visit to several civil air defense works in which peacetime and wartime uses have been integrated--underground meeting places, restaurants, workshops, warehouses, hospitals, and hotels. When we went up some steps and then went down into the spacious and well-lit underground halls that run from Nankai district to Yanglu Street, responsible comrades of the Nankai District Party Committee were listening to neighborhood reports on the use of civil air defense works. The hall was brilliantly illuminated and beautifully decorated, and its atmosphere was peaceful. On all the side pillars and whitewashed walls were pictures of animals, scenery, flowers and grass. In this district, which lacks cultural facilities, the varied activities provided by the underground cultural center are enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. In the past, teenagers strolled here and there on the streets; now almost every day they come here to look at books and pictorials or watch color television, to play chess or ping-pong. On a simple stage, small-scale programs can be performed. During midsummer, when the sun is scorching hot, here it is pleasantly cool, like autumn. The cultural center attached to the inn can bring in a monthly income of over 3,000 yuan. It not only equips itself, but also makes arrangements for six youths awaiting employment. It not only acts as a "self-sustaining shelter," but also as a "people-sustaining shelter."

The use of underground civil air defense works to serve production and the people's life is truly something worth advocating. The underground dining room of the newly opened canteen in a small grove of Hebei district provides a convenient place for meals for local residents and transients. When we went to this brightly lit dining room with its large seating capacity, the female attendants were carrying out steaming hot stuffed buns from the food preparation room and putting them in front of the customers. An old teacher put me in the picture: "From the time this was built and opened in 1976, it has done good business. Because it is warm in the winter and cool in the summer, even beer can be kept fresh for many more days." The canteen's proprietors have put their storerooms, locker rooms, and cooked wheaten food preparation rooms underground, thereby enlarging their business space. It is calculated that the monthly total business volume of this canteen is 45,000 yuan, with the underground volume being over 44 percent of this total. Underneath this five-layered structure, a new dining room decorated in marble is now being built.

Seeing the well-ordered underground warehouse of a glass household utensils plant in the Baimiao Industrial district and the neat, clean, dry, and bright rooms of the Wangchuan Square Hotel and the Jiangua Road Pingzhan Hotel reversed our past impression that civil air defense works were damp and dark. Our municipality does not now make as much use of civil air defense works as does Beijing and Shanghai, and, therefore, it is very necessary to widely popularize the integration of their peacetime and wartime functions. These two peacetime-use underground works in Hebei district, in the second quarter of the year, supported by the district and neighborhood civil air defense committees, were opened one after the other as hotels, and they invested money in the purchase of some beds and bedclothes, and made arrangements for 17 youths who are awaiting employment; each hotel has 40 to 50 beds and brings in a monthly net income of about 1,000 yuan. The underground works are put to both peacetime and wartime uses. This dual use kills several birds with one stone, and so what is there against it?

A developing trend in this century is for some technologically advanced countries to want to use underground space for urban construction. Abroad, there are already underground structures of 10 and more layers, and our country is also probing into deep layers underground. In case a future war breaks out, it will be a three-dimensional war, without a front or a rear. Therefore, on what do we rely to destroy the enemy and preserve ourselves? Only by using the "shield" of underground works will we be able to deflect the "spear" of nuclear weapons.

We visited the underground works of this municipality's Red Cross hospital, which would have the mission of providing relief in case of a nuclear attack. The patients there were resting and receiving medical treatment in an environment with suitable temperatures and air circulation. This 670-square meter underground space has ventilation, virus filtration, and dehumidification equipment. It has a 10-centimeter-thick airtight door for protection against atomic, chemical, and germ attacks. Most of it is already used for civil air defense purposes. There is a storeroom, an isotope room, an X-ray room, a laboratory, and an electrical transformer room. In the underground ward, the temperature is moderate, there is no noise, the air is clean, and there is very little dust or bacteria. It is well suited for patients convalescing from high blood pressure or heart disease. Patients suffering from burns are not easily infected and are quickly cured. The

anti-earthquake properties of underground works are good. After the 1976 earthquake, many badly injured patients were shifted underground, where the doctors and nurses could concentrate on caring for them and the patients could concentrate on resting and recuperating. In a period of about half a year, the underground ward admitted more than 230 patients, and this became an exercise similar to one under wartime conditions.

In integrating peacetime and wartime functions, Tianjin municipality's best use of underground space is for knitting mill underground workshops. The workshops cleverly use the cold air underground, so that not only are the workshops pleasantly cool for people, but also the low temperatures in the workshops draw the intense interest of foreign guests toward this cost-free way of saving energy.

Our municipality now has a large amount of civil air defense works that could be, but are not, used. If they are used, we will advance; if they are wasted, we will retreat. Starting from the local urgent requirements, to turn the unused works to good account will directly serve the four modernizations!

9727

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONALITY ISSUE, CLASS ISSUE ARE NOT THE SAME

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITIES' UNITY] in Chinese No 9, 15 Sep 80 pp 36-39

[Article by Xu Liming [1776 3810 2494]: "Confusion Between Nationality and Class Issues Cannot Be Tolerated"]

[Text] The saying that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue" has been bandied around for a number of years. For a period of time it also formed the basis of our rationale for handling our nationality issue.

During our criticism and united front campaigns in the early 1960's, those engaged in work involving the nationalities, in the name of "implementing the capitulationism and revisionism line," published in the newspapers and magazines a long list of articles which came to be regarded as a "general truth according to Leninism, arrived at through numerous practical experiences." They turned the united front policy, the nationalities policy and the policy toward religion, so successfully pursued by the party since liberation, into "capitulationism" and "revisionism." They arbitrarily further claimed that the most basic elements of the capitulationism and revisionism line were a repudiation of the idea that nationality issues were substantially caused by class issues; that our class issues, class contradictions, class struggles, and the struggle between socialism and capitalism were at the root of our nationality problems; and that the solution of nationality issues was a problem involving class struggle and revolution. Placed at the mercy of such "theories," our united front workers, workers in the fields of nationalities and religion, and a number of our comrades were among the first to fall victim to this leftists trend of thought.

During the 10-year period of instability, Lin Biao and the gang of four, with a view to their usurping power, embraced this point of view and pushed it to the extreme. They completely confused nationality and class issues and the issues stemming from the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. They promoted the idea that the problem of minority nationalities and the problem of class struggle were one and the same. This view became the theoretical basis adopted by Lin Biao and the gang of four in launching their feudalistic, fascist type of dictatorship in the minority nationality regions and in pushing through their reactionary minority nationality policies.

Even today the so-called idea that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue" continues to hold sway, hampering the implementation of the party's policy

toward the minority nationalities. For this reason, a clarification of this issue is called for from both a theoretical and a practical point of view.

In analyzing the minority nationalities issue, as in analyzing other social issues, we must proceed from a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism: "In analyzing any social problem, Marxism-Leninism absolutely demands that the problem be placed within a particular historical time frame." ("Selected Writings of Lenin," vol 2, p 512) That being the case, let us analyze the proposition that "the minority nationalities issue is in essence a class issue" from both a theoretical point of view and from actual facts, since it is of great practical significance that we clarify the relationship between the minority nationalities issue and the class issue.

The minority nationalities issue has always been part of the whole social issue. It is not an isolated issue; neither is it resistant to change or everlasting. Under different social systems and at different historical periods, the minority nationalities issue will take on the character and the revolutionary objectives of a particular historical period of time. For this reason, in order to correctly identify the character and objectives of the minority nationalities issue, it is essential that it be placed in the context of the whole developing and changing social milieu and the historical conditions actually existing at the time. We should not and must not put the so-called "substance of the minority nationalities issue" at different historical periods in the same general category.

Nevertheless, there was a time when some comrades took the proposition that "the minority nationalities issue is in essence a class issue" as an immutable law in assessing and handling all minority nationalities problems. "In assessing and handling minority nationalities problems," they said, "we must bear in mind this Marxist-Leninist principle, no matter whether we are dealing with problems of international colonialism or with problems of our own minority nationalities, and no matter whether we are dealing with the minority nationalities problem during our democratic revolutionary period or during our socialist revolution and reconstruction period." They further put problems of international colonialism and the essence of our minority nationality problems that existed at the time of our democratic revolution in the same category of problems stemming from the oppressed minority nationalities and from the exploiting class' preying on these oppressed minority nationalities.

This line of reasoning obviously runs counter to Marxist theory and confuses the minority nationalities issue as it has existed at different historical periods. As is well known, the Great Soviet Socialist October Revolution ushered in a new era in human history. The human race entered a new era which came on the heels of the proletarian socialist revolution. With the changing times, the extent and nature of the movement against racial colonialism have undergone vast changes from the time of the ascendancy of capitalism. The problem of racial colonialism had become a part of the whole problem of the global proletarian socialist revolution. It had become a global problem involving the liberation from imperialism of the oppressed peoples of the dependent states and colonies.

Regarding the substance of the problem in the colonies and dependent states during that historical period, no classical writer has come up with the generalization

that it was the exploiting class that gave rise to the problem. It was Stalin who pointed out, "The substance of the nationalities problem is this: The masses of the nationalities in the colonies and dependent states are opposed to the economic exploitation and political and cultural enslavement imposed upon them by the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the ruling nationalities." ("Collected Writings of Stalin," vol 7, p 184) He pointed out that the nationalities problem is "essentially a problem of the peasantry." ("Collected Writings of Stalin," vol 7, p 61) As for the attempt on the part of some people at the time to equate the nationalities issue created by imperialism with the struggle among the bourgeoisie of the nationalities, he made the profound observation that this [error] was due to the "underestimation of the latent power of the nationalist movement and the failure to understand the profound nationalistic and revolutionary nature of the nationalist movement." (Ibid)

The conclusion drawn by Stalin furnishes a considerable guiding force to our effort to understand and analyze the nationalities problem at the time of our democratic revolutionary period. Citing the conclusion that the nationalities problem is "in essence a problem of the peasantry," Comrade Mao Zedong made it clear that the Chinese revolution was in substance a revolution waged by the peasantry, that the problem of the peasantry was a basic problem of the Chinese revolution, and that it was the power of the peasantry that constituted the mainstay of the Chinese revolution.

It is clear, therefore, that at the time when imperialism held sway as well as during the proletarian revolutionary period, it is contrary to objective facts, whether in dealing with the nationalist colonial problem on the international level or in dealing with the period of our democratic revolution, to draw in an abstract manner the general conclusion that, in substance, the nationalities problem is a class problem, or to draw the direct conclusion that it is a problem of the exploiting class. To do that would be to ignore the changing times. It is also contrary to objective facts to regard the exploiting class as the most important component in the nation.

Some comrades may ask, "What contradiction is there, since Stalin's views on the substance of the nationalities problem were of the substance of the classes?"

The crux of the question is this: Stalin, ever mindful of the developing situation at different historical periods, had come forth with different and specific observations on the substance of the class issue in dealing with the nationalities problem. That represents exactly the essence of Marxism-Leninism. To suggest that "the nationalities problem is in essence a class problem" is to confuse the nationalities problem existing at different historical periods. To conclude in an abstract way that the nationalities problem is in essence "a class problem" or a problem of the exploiting class is contrary to the Marxist principle of analyzing specific problems in a specific manner.

It is not correct to draw the general conclusion that the nationalist colonial problem when imperialism held sway and at the time of the proletarian revolution and the nationalities problem at the time of our democratic revolution are in essence a class problem. It is even more incorrect to conclude that it is in essence a class problem in this socialist era.

The real intention of those who claim that "the nationalities problem is in essence a class problem" after our socialist reforms were basically completed is to represent our nationalities problem during the socialist period as a problem of the exploiting class among the minority nationalities and as a problem among the hostile classes. To cite an example, they have made the claim that "our present nationalities problem is in essence a class problem, having its root in the classes, in the contradictions among the classes, in the struggle among the classes, and in the struggle between capitalism and socialism." At the same time, they have arbitrarily denied the existence of a nationalities problem among the working class, saying that "the so-called problem of relations among the nationalities has no place among the working class," and that "the so-called nationalistic contradictions are a reflection of the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the classes." Hence, they have offered the opinion that the only way to solve the nationalities problem during our socialist period would be to wage a class struggle, to wage a struggle against the enemy, to completely suppress all antirevolutionary activities, and to further pursue the socialist revolution. This point of view completely ignores the developing and changing objective circumstances during our socialist period.

The problem will come into clearer focus if we study and analyze the history of the development of relations between the classes and between the nationalities during our socialist period.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China signified the basic conclusion of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. It also signified basic changes in relations between our nationalities. Marxism-Leninism holds that all basic revolutionary problems involve the political power of a country, and that everything hinges on when and by whom political power is held. With the collapse of the reactionary Kuomintang government, there was established a people's democratic autocracy, based on an alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class, which completely eradicated the evil system of suppression of nationalities throughout the nation, brought about political equality among the different nationalities, and altered the entire situation wherein workers of different nationalities had been deprived of power. As Comrade Mao Zedong so aptly pointed out, "The establishment of the People's Republic of China marks the beginning of a large family made up of the different nationalities throughout the nation in a spirit of fraternal love and cooperation." (Quoted from JENMIN RIBAO, 14 Dec 51) Furthermore, in the early stages following liberation, strenuous efforts were made by the party and the people's government to develop cadres among the minority nationalities and to institute autonomy step by step in the minority regions, thus laying a solid foundation for the assumption of political power by an alliance of the working class and the minority nationalities.

The conclusion of democratic reforms and the ushering in of socialist changes marked the establishment of our socialist system as well as the advent of further basic changes in relations among the nationalities. In 1953, when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party set forth the general line and mission during the transition period, it also pointed out, "In our common task of developing our mother country, efforts should be made to promote step by step the political, economic and cultural development of the different nationalities (including steadily bringing

about the necessary social reforms), and to eliminate the historic vestiges of inequality among the different nationalities, so that the backward nationalities can join the ranks of the advanced nationalities in the transition to socialism." In line with this policy, democratic reforms had been made in most of the minority regions by the end of 1953. This was followed by the introduction of socialist reforms. Democratic reforms, first instituted in 1955 in some of the minority regions that still remained under the thrall of serfdom or bondage, were completed by 1958 or 1960. These reforms were followed by socialist reforms. Through democratic and socialist reforms, the vestiges of the original commune system, the bondage system, the feudal ownership system, the feudal land ownership system, and the capitalist system of labor employment were eliminated. Thus the different nationalities were put on the road to socialism and the suppression of and discrimination against nationalities in society were eradicated. This led to basic changes in the structure of the different classes among the minority nationalities and in the relationships among them. Political rule of and economic exploitation by the exploiting class were effectively ended. The workers among the nationalities truly became masters in society, masters of the means of production, and masters in a position to determine the relationship among the nationalities. Hence, the relationship among our nationalities was placed on the economic foundation of the united socialist system of public ownership and on the basis of the common interest of the workers among the nationalities. This brought about a new socialist relationship among the nationalities--that is, basically a relationship among workers.

After the gang of four was smashed, the party Central Committee came forth in a down-to-earth manner with a new Marxist dictum regarding the state of affairs relating to the classes, pointing out that the exploiting class had ceased to exist as a class, and that the overwhelming majority of the members of that class had been turned into workers who were earning their own keep. This dictum is in tune with the objective circumstances of our entire society as well as those in our minority regions. Among the minority nationalities today, such exploiting classes as slave-owners, serf masters, landowners, and livestock owners have been extirpated and the capitalist class no longer exists. In a socialist society, the masters are the socialist workers, farmers, herdsmen, intellectuals and other patriots who uphold socialism. The class struggle, of course, still goes on. Furthermore, our class struggle is tied in with that in other countries. Sometimes this class struggle is a reflection of the relationship among the nationalities (such as the sowing of the seeds of discord among the nationalities, disrupting the unity among the nationalities, breaking up and destroying national unity, etc). In such situations we must, instead of sitting on our hands, be on the alert for all exigencies. At the same time, we must clearly understand that class contradictions are no longer the chief contradictions in our society today, much less the chief contradictions among our nationalities, and that class struggle among the nationalities is an internal matter among the different nationalities themselves. Generally speaking, class contradictions should not be treated as a problem among the different nationalities. In the present historical era, the nationalities factor plays a diminishing role in the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and among the classes, whereas problems arising out of the differences and special features among the nationalities have come to the fore. Under such circumstances, it is most damaging to use "full understanding of the complexity of the nationalities problem" as a pretext for confusing the nationalities issue with the class issue and for treating the substance of our nationalities issue as an issue created by the exploiting class and an issue

between the hostile classes. To do that would be to fail to truly reflect the objective situation of the classes and the struggle among the classes in this new era. It would lead to a repetition of the tragedy brought on by Lin Biao and the gang of four, who made the cadres and masses among the nationalities the targets of their attack during their period of rampage. Should not the high price paid for this by the people of the different nationalities serve as a lesson to be etched in the minds of our children and our children's children?

Some comrades have used Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis that "the struggle among the nationalities is, in the final analysis, an issue involving class struggle" to buttress their theory that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue."

Little do they know that the pronouncement made by Comrade Mao Zedong on 8 August 1973 in support of the justifiable struggle waged by the black people of the United States was directed against racial discrimination perpetrated by reactionaries and the system of racial repression practiced by the American monopolistic class. His chief purpose was to point out that in the final analysis the racial discrimination and repression suffered by large numbers of black people in the United States constituted class repression, that the contradictions between large numbers of black people on the one hand and the monopolistic and reactionary groups on the other were essentially contradictions among the classes, and that the racial struggle being waged was in fact a class struggle. For that reason, it is only when large numbers of black people unite with white workers that they can bring about their own liberation. An analogy may be found in the period during the rule of the Kuomintang, when the people of different nationalities made it their common mission to overthrow its reactionary rule.

With the liberation of our country, racial repression and the struggle against racial repression no longer exist. For this reason, that opinion expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong no longer applies to our country after liberation, and especially after the basic completion of socialist reform in the relationship among the nationalities in our nation. To arbitrarily lump the issues together is to make indistinguishable the differences between different nationality issues under two different social systems, to confuse the issue and to hamper the implementation of our policies.

In short, the proposition that "the nationalities issue is in essence a class issue" has the dangerous effect of confusing the nationalities issue with the class issue and the conflicts of two different natures between the enemy and ourselves. For this reason we must resolutely abandon this erroneous line of thinking.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHANGCHUN'S NEW COMPREHENSIVE UNIVERSITY FOR DAY STUDENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Wu Fengyi [2976 7685 0308]: "A New Comprehensive University for Changchun"]

[Text] With the approval of Jilin Provincial People's Government, Changchun city established a comprehensive joint university for day students--Changchun Joint University.

When the examination for schools of higher learning was completed this year, more than 2,000 candidates in Changchun who had received high marks still failed the examination. They are eager to attend schools for advanced study. Changchun Municipal People's Government thus decided to make full use of the superiority in the city's universities, plants and scientific research units to establish this comprehensive joint university for day students on the basis of the principles of "overall consideration and all-round arrangements, complete planning, doing one's outmost, doing what lies in one's power, weighing one's steps by thinking of consequences, and doing what is appropriate according to the circumstances."

Changchun Comprehensive Joint University will enroll students who had failed in the entrance examination for schools of higher learning this year. It has now started registration and will select some 1,100 students with high marks. According to the actual needs of national economic development and the substantive condition of the departments now existing in various colleges and universities, the university is aimed at training various kinds of professional personnel currently needed in general and in urgency. There are 28 departments which include applied electronics, industrial management, machine building, engineering geology, environmental protection, civil construction, cotton spinning, woolen spinning, horticulture as well as liberal arts, history, laws, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign languages, etc. Education takes 3 years. A few complicated subjects will take 4 years. School hours will be in day time. Each student contributes a monthly tuition of 10 yuan. The Provincial People's Government will divert a special subsidy from the local funds for expenses. A diploma will be issued to each student upon graduation after passing the examination. The government will not make allocation for jobs, but the school will make recommendations to related units, which will hire them according to their academic achievement. Those hired will receive the same pay as graduates from colleges and universities in general.

Changchun Comprehensive Joint University conducts their education by adopting the method of "scattered classes but concentrated and centralized management." Teachers

will be provided by colleges and universities, large plants, and scientific research units. Classrooms will be collectively provided by the municipal government and the universities and plants engaged in the education work by exploiting latent capacity, trying to economize, and doing what is appropriate according to the circumstances. To ensure that various universities will complete their teaching and scientific research missions without diverting too much of their efforts, and to enhance the teaching quality of the comprehensive university, an administration committee of the joint university is established, to be attended by responsible comrades of the units participating in the education work. The secretary in charge of culture and education of the Changchun Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party becomes the president of the university.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OPENS NEW INSTITUTES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Jia Shumei [6328 2885 2653]: "Meet the Needs of Four Modernizations and Strengthen the Study of Social Sciences"]

[Text] The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [CASS] has devoted the past 3 years to broadening its scope of scientific research in an effort to meet the needs of the program for the modernizations of China. To this end, it has opened 12 newly built research institutes and expanded the old ones.

The CASS's predecessor was the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The CASS now has 26 research institutes, compared with 14 before the Great Cultural Revolution, with the number of its researchers increasing from 1,264 to 1,996. The CASS is also a publisher of 38 professional journals with a total circulation of 15 million copies a year.

In the economic field, in addition to the old Economic Research Institute and World Economic Research Institute, the CASS has built and put into operation the new Industrial Economic Research Institute; the Agro-Economic Research Institute; the Finance, Trade and Supply Research Institute; and the Technical Economic Research Institute. Since their inauguration, these new institutes have given first priority to research work closely associated with the four modernizations program. Since 1979, over 100 researchers have been organized to investigate and study economic activities in various localities and departments. Thus far, as a result of their investigation, they have come up with a series of reports and suggestions and have published many research essays, in addition to assisting the party and state in formulating economic policy and reforming the economic structure. During the past 3 years, forums on a series of major theoretical problems dealing with the formulation of the national economic study programs and the development of the national economy have been held by these economics institutes for the benefit of scholars. Among them were problems concerning the principle of to each according to his work, the law of value, coordination in planning and marketing, the objective of production, the system of ownership, circulation, economic structure, reform in the economic system, and the residual influence of feudalism in the economic field. These forums have provided economists with an opportunity to emancipate their thinking, conscientiously sum up new China's experiences in developing the economy, and explore the

objective laws governing the development of socialist economy. The CASS has also resumed studies in sociology, political science, and law--subjects which had long been considered "forbidden areas" or "phony branches of science cherished by the bourgeoisie"--since the opening of its newly built Sociology and Political Science Institute.

The Law Science Institute has expanded its study program to include international law, economic law, criminal law, and civil law. It has also been invited to participate in the drafting and revision of 18 laws and regulations, including criminal law and the law of criminal procedure.

The CASS has devoted time to strengthening in varying degrees studies in Marxist theory, international politics, domestic politics, culture and social problems. Since their opening, the newly built Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought Research Institute, the World Political Research Institute, the Institute for the Study of Southern Asia, the Institute for the Study of Japan, and the Journalistic Research Institute have scored gratifying successes in their fields.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI CANNOT AFFORD TO HIRE AGRICULTURE SCHOOL GRADUATES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Tu Zhengfeng (1458 2973 1496): "Why Are Graduates of Agricultural Schools Not Assigned Work?"]

[Text] During my recent news coverage tour of Hubei Province, I was told by departments concerned with agricultural production that there was a shortage of agricultural scientists and technicians in this province. Later, I found that many agricultural school graduates could not be successfully placed in jobs for which they were trained. What a bizarre contradiction!

There now are nine agricultural middle schools in Hubei, with a total of 1,000 or more graduates each year. This year's graduates, who numbered 1,109, were claimed by these schools to be the best they have ever produced in terms of academic achievement. But they have also met the same fate of being turned down. Four out of eight prefectures in the province have expressed unwillingness to offer them any jobs. As a result, hope of finding jobs for these graduates is now in doubt. Presently, graduates fresh from agricultural colleges in the province are also facing the same problem. This was not caused by any excess in the supply of agricultural scientists or technicians in the market. There are now over 11,000 agricultural specialists on the staff of the Hubei Provincial departments of agriculture and animal husbandry. In other words, Hubei Province now has only 2.5 agricultural specialists for every 10,000 persons, and no more than 2 such specialists available for every 10,000 mu of farmland. This problem reportedly was caused mainly by shortages of funds allotted each year to agricultural departments, which could not afford to hire any additional agricultural school graduates because no additional funds were appropriated by the state. With the size of their present budgets, many counties even have difficulty paying the wages of their agricultural staff. As long as this problem exists, it will adversely affect not only the morale of educators but also the growth of the contingent of agricultural scientists and technicians. I hereby suggest that effective measures be taken by departments concerned to solve this problem.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN SOLVES NEW PROBLEMS IN RURAL EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "Yunnan Provincial People's Government Takes Measures to Solve New Problems Encountered in Rural Educational Work"]

[Text] Following the development of the rural situation and the further establishment and perfection of the production responsibility system, new conditions and problems are also encountered in the rural educational work at present. There emerged in Yunnan Province the phenomena that the teachers are unstable, the students shift readily, there is a reduction in the percentage of school enrollment, and schools were even suspended in some places. In light of these problems, the Yunnan Provincial People's Government transmitted four suggestions proposed by the Provincial Bureau of Education requesting people's governments at all levels to solve them by linking them with the actual conditions at local places. The four suggestions as broadcast by XINHUA are:

1) Stabilize the local teachers ranks and insure their pay and rations. In the process of establishing and perfecting the responsibility system for production posts, various places are requested to ensure that the pay and ration of local teachers will not be lower than their original levels. In order that local teachers concentrate their efforts in teaching, they should generally not be given output quotas. The subsidy disbursed by the government to local teachers should be issued according to the original method, and it should not be illegally deducted or misappropriated for other purpose by any units. Appointment and dismissal of local teachers should be made by strictly following the related regulations of the State Council.

2) Adopt a variety of forms of education so as to meet the needs of production. Now that the rural policy has been relaxed, many parents ask children of school age to go home to pasture domesticated animal, to feed fowl, and to care for younger brothers and sisters. Thus, as regards the form of education, it is impossible to continue using such all-in-one method as the simple all-day classes. Various forms of education should be adopted, taking into account such different conditions as economy, nationality, population, geographical terrain, weather, etc. Such forms include the all-day class, the half-day class, the two-part class, the every-other-day class, the day class and evening class, the noon class, circuit to fixed places to teach, etc. Different places should do what is appropriate according to the circumstances and adopt the form of education which is most suitable to the characteristics of the local life, thus enabling the maximum number of children of school age to enroll in schools and moreover making them learn something. We must insist on different

requirements and quality standards from schools of various forms and carry out different teaching programs and educational systems.

3) Earnestly do well at key elementary schools and at commune's elementary schools. Manpower, materials, and funds should be concentrated so that many rural elementary schools holding all-day classes will do well. Every county should do a good job at three or four key elementary schools and use them as model schools. Communes should do a good job at their elementary schools. One or several brigades in areas of certain conditions should jointly do a good job in running an elementary school of all-day classes.

4) Strengthen leadership of rural education and improve the workstyle. Every prefecture and county and especially the county people's government should strengthen leadership of rural education and give prompt study and find solutions to the important issues in rural education.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LOCAL TEACHERS OF YUNNAN PROVINCE BECOME STATE EMPLOYEES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "More Than Twenty Thousand Local Teachers in Yunnan Become State Employees"]

[Text] XINHUA Kunming 7 Oct--Since last year, more than 20,000 local teachers of different minority nationalities in the border nationality regions and the barren inland mountain regions in Yunnan Province have become state employees.

These local teachers were appointed state employees after achieving superiority in cultural test. Proper care is given to the minority teachers, especially to those who teach in their own locality. This year alone teachers of minority nationalities accounted for 46 percent of state employees who were originally local teachers in various counties of the border regions.

The measure adopted by Yunnan Province is very significant in stabilizing the teachers ranks, in developing the educational enterprise, and in strengthening national unity. It is welcomed by the minority people of the border regions.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT SYSTEM REVAMPED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 5, 20 May 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Zhao Sheng [6392 3932]: "New Regulations on Admitting Students to the Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Since its reinstatement, the college entrance examination system has continued to be improved and perfected along with related regulations. This year, the regulations governing the enrollment of college students have been revised again to include the following three new provisions based on experiences acquired by educators over the past 3 years:

I. Colleges Admit Students According to Their Choices of Departments

The fact that colleges will admit students according to their choices of departments as indicated in the revised application forms is a great improvement in the college enrollment system. Earlier, all colleges admitted students according to their choices of courses or study programs in which they will major. For example, in 1977 there was a student of liberal arts whose first choice was Beijing University and whose two areas of concentration were literature and world history. Upon entering that university he went straight to take these two courses of his original choice as his majors. If a student like that applies for admission to Beijing University this year, his choices of study should be the Departments of Chinese Literature and History. Following his admission, he will have to join other students of these two departments in taking a number of introductory courses in the freshman year before he can choose his areas of concentration on the basis of his academic achievements and teachers' recommendations.

There are hundreds of institutions of higher learning in our country which offer a wide variety of professional courses and study programs not known to our college-bound students. A course selected by an applicant as his major before his admission might turn out to be a program not suited to his particular needs and interests. A case in point is that some students have passed up courses they should have selected but not because they were unfamiliar with them. According to the new regulations, a freshman student must first complete a study of introductory courses so that he can gain a deeper understanding of various professional courses offered by the departments of his choice, which will help develop his intellectual interests and will provide him with opportunities to select a program or course in which he will major. This arrangement can also give schools ample time to observe the intellectual aptitude of freshman students so that teachers can assign to them programs that best

reflect their intellectual interests. In this way, a well-balanced qualitative development of various courses can also be achieved. Apart from these advantages, before proceeding to their areas of concentration, freshman students can collectively carry out their study of introductory courses in large classrooms where they can take full advantage of such modern teaching aid as color slides, television sets and film projectors. Furthermore, with this arrangement, the schools can cut down the consumption of manpower, financial and material resources, which can be used to improve the quality of teaching for introductory courses. As a result of this arrangement, the acute shortages of teachers associated with introductory courses can now be relieved.

II. Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions With Great Numbers of College-Bound Students Are Required To Hold Preliminary Tests on the Eve of the Nationwide College Entrance Examination

Statistics show that hundreds of thousands of cadres and teachers had to be mobilized to test out applicants for admission to colleges, who totaled 16 million during the past 3 years. The disadvantage that has resulted from allowing so many students to take the annual nationwide college entrance examination is that a great number of educators from colleges and middle schools have to spend a long summer working on test papers, thus depriving them of opportunities to refresh themselves and to improve the quality of teaching programs for colleges and middle schools; the state has to earmark large funds for this purpose each year; allowing so many students to take the annual nationwide college entrance examination at one time may result in errors and scandals; educators of different persuasions assigned to oversee the examination may have difficulties in meeting the nationally applied requirements for evaluating and monitoring test scores; false records on political and physical examinations cannot be verified because of the shortage of manpower. In an effort to screen and select students accurately and carefully, and to reduce the workload, the State Council has approved and put into effect a new regulation which stipulates that those provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions with extraordinarily large numbers of college-bound students shall select truly outstanding ones to take part in the nationwide examination, and shall hold preliminary tests for this purpose. This idea was initially tried out by some provinces in 1977 and 1978 on the eve of the nationwide college entrance examinations. In these 2 years, the number of students who passed such preliminary tests was nearly five times the number of students to be actually admitted to the colleges. Judging from this fact, truly outstanding students could not possibly be deprived of their opportunities to go to college. Experience proves that that arrangement for preliminary tests is advisable and feasible. Such preliminary tests are expected to take place in many more provinces in our country this year. All educational units are urged to support this arrangement in accordance with the State Council-approved regulations. Special efforts must be made to educate the public in the policy on the nationwide college-entrance examination.

III. Foreign Language Test Score Shall Weigh More Heavily in the Computation of the Total Test Score in the Future

At present, courses in foreign languages are either unavailable or far below desired standards in many middle schools throughout the country. Every possible effort must be made by schools to help students raise their level of foreign languages in order to enable them to meet the requirements for developing science and technology and promoting the four modernizations. Beginning this year, the foreign language test

score in the nationwide college entrance examination will account for 30 percent of the total test score. The foreign language test score will weigh more heavily in the computation of the total test score in the years to come. This emphasis on foreign languages will force all middle schools to strengthen their foreign language study programs and improve their quality, and will stimulate the institutions of higher learning throughout the country to step up the training of foreign language teachers.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CAUSES, SOLUTIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80
pp 91-94

[Article by Xu Jian [1926-1996] of the Huadong College of Politics and Law: "Research on Juvenile Delinquency Problems"]

[Text] A nation's youth is its future and the hope of its people. The burden of social progress and development invariably falls generation after generation on the backs of the young generation. Juvenile delinquency and crime not only are the problem of the young person alone but also are the misfortune of the family and are related to the future of the nation and the success or failure of important national affairs. Both past and present there has never been a nation or an age that did not value the young generation. There are a number of valuable experiences from our national history. Guanzi said, "If education of the young is improper then the people will be dispirited, there will be chaos and the throne will be endangered." This says that if the younger generation is poorly raised and educated the feudal dictatorship will be endangered. Hanfeizi said, "To inculcate youth with the law is most basic of all." This emphasizes the importance of problems in the younger generation. Therefore, the study of and correct solutions for juvenile delinquency are a matter of great urgency and broad concern.

Socialism is Outstanding in Lowering the Juvenile Delinquency Rate.

The phenomenon of crime did not exist from the origins of mankind but is a historical category. It occurred after the origin of the private ownership system and together with the origins of such sociological phenomena as classes, nations and laws. The ruling class followed its own wishes in using the power of the law to define crime as behavior which transgressed against the interests of the ruling class and thus prevent people from doing so. Therefore, in terms of origins, the basic reason for the origin of crime lies with the origin of the private ownership system and with the system of exploiting people. After our old liberated areas were liberated they implemented a new social system and the face of society was renewed. The well-known American reporter Edgar Snow in his book KIXING MANJI [RED STAR OVER CHINA] recorded his personal experiences in the liberated areas and

said, "In the counties long under socialist government the blatant corruption common to most parts of China appeared to have been eliminated," for example "opium was completely eliminated," "no one seemed to know of any corrupt officials," begging and unemployment were "eradicated," "slavery and prostitution were already eliminated" and so on. This is a fair, correct and objective presentation of the facts.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China the social order was quickly stabilized, all criminal elements were effectively reformed and all types of criminal cases, including cases of juvenile delinquency showed dramatic declines and long periods of stability. In many places including the cities there appeared the phenomenon of "lost objects remaining untouched and doors not locked at night." Shanghai for example was called a "paradise for adventurers" in pre-Liberation days and was an area of concentration for illegal activities that was wide open to the activities of army ruffians, gangsters, gamblers and robbers. In 1949 the party and people's government liberated this city from the hands of the imperialists and Guomindang reactionaries. At that time there was a crime rate of over 40,000 cases per year which is to say that in Shanghai a crime was committed every 10 minutes. While the people were overthrowing the old system and bringing about radical changes they also transformed the historical progression of developments in crime and Shanghai showed a new situation of yearly decreases in criminal cases. Statistical materials show that in the five years until 1954 the number of cases was decreased by 50 percent from the pre-Liberation figures, and there was a continual decrease, reaching about 70 percent in 1957, 75 percent in 1961 and on the eve of the cultural revolution in 1965 it was about 80 percent lower. These figures include a great decrease in juvenile crime which was impossible in the old Chinese society and is impossible in a capitalist country. A number of well-known foreigners in China understood and personally observed these changes. All were surprised at the success of China's socialist system and the working of a miracle in making such a startling reduction of the criminal elements. Under the socialist system the party and state developed production and solved the old society's problem of large-scale unemployment by having each person contribute his own strength and by creating conditions to benefit mankind. At the same time the heads of households relied on their labor and wisdom to develop production and transform their livelihood, not only ensuring a reliable livelihood but also fulfilling the hopes of a beautiful life in the future. Under such conditions the activities of bandits, robbers, cheats, and gangsters became socially despicable and the people despised their anti-social behavior. All of this gave our struggle against crime and all sorts of other evil activities a very broad social base. As for that very small minority of unreformed evil people which continued to endanger society and the people the agencies of the people's dictatorship attacked them with legal measures, adopted a policy of combined punishment and re-education which gave them a way out and a means of reform which then permitted the city of Shanghai which was polluted with the "ten li of foreign

establishments" to accomplish reforms within a reasonable period of time, thus achieving good public security and continual great decrease in the number of crimes.

What is the Message of the Recent Dramatic Increase in Juvenile Delinquency?

During the ten years of upheaval the major crimes were committed by juveniles, thus showing a trend which made people uneasy. A few provinces and cities undertook investigations which clearly show rapid increase of juvenile delinquency, some approximately doubling in the last ten years and others far exceeding this amount. The greatest increase in all crime was in juvenile delinquency, from 20-30 percent in the 50s to about 60 percent at present. Juvenile delinquency is especially high in large cities and this has drawn attention and comments from people here and abroad. Everyone knows that after 1966 our political and economic life underwent an upheaval rarely seen in history. In their attempt to usurp leadership of the party and the state Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused right and wrong, overturned black and white, destroyed the economy, created chaos, fought battles, overran the legal system, transgressed against human rights, were proud and vain, had enormous special privileges and committed great crimes. The increase in crime and juvenile delinquency in this period cannot be separated from the destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, the dramatic increase of juvenile delinquency under the special conditions of the past ten years was a temporary phenomenon created by a special set of conditions and definitely cannot be considered to be a normal pattern or long-term tendency and even less is a regular part of the socialist system. It must also be pointed out that even with the abnormal condition of an approximately ten percent annual increase of juvenile delinquency after 1966 the crime rate was still lower than in the early years of liberation and is even relatively lower than that of a few major capitalist nations. This is seen in a comparison of crime and population figures. In America it is 5.3 percent, England 4.4 percent, West Germany 4.2 percent and Japan 1.1 percent; while in China it is as low as 0.5 per thousand. A comparison of juvenile delinquency statistics from a number of Chinese cities for all youths and young people shows that we are still much lower than capitalist societies.

There is another important and very convincing fact which is that since smashing the "gang of four" crime and juvenile delinquency in China ended its ten-year history of increases. According to statistics from the Central Bureau of Public Security crime began to decline after smashing the "gang of four" in 1977. From 1977 to 1978 the decline was 2.3 percent. However, three years is not enough time to eliminate the disasters and influences caused by ten years of chaos and we cannot hope to be able to make a large and lasting decrease in juvenile delinquency in such a short period of time. In addition, even when all of the causes are completely accounted for there still is the possibility of recurrent outbreaks so we can only work under

the watchful eye of the whole party to strengthen the basis of education and showing all-round concern for young people and handing out severe punishment for the small number of serious crimes. There then ought to be an obvious decline in juvenile delinquency.

An Analysis of the Factors in the Dramatic Increases in Juvenile Delinquency.

According to general reference materials and an analysis of some typical investigations the great majority of crimes are committed by juvenile delinquents and the great majority of these are by young people under age 25 and teenagers under 18, which is the generation of the cultural revolution. During the cultural revolution they were in the growth process from childhood to maturity. In physiological terms this is an extremely rich period of replacing the old with the new and from a social point of view this is a key period in which they respond to the family, friends, relatives, schools and society in starting to form their ideology, viewpoint, ethics character, morals, desires, ideals and will and generally come to understand duty and obligation. It is a period of change in which they turn from parental obedience to their society wherein they learn and practice independence and it also is a period for molding the individual. Just at this time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out the destruction and ruination of the then maturing generation with a viciousness rarely seen in Chinese history and the factors which most directly affected the younger generation were the following:

First: The Perverse Theory and Acts of "Beat, Smash and Grab" Inculcated the Young Generation with a Kind of Fascist Philosophy.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" widely promulgated the perverse theory of "beat, smash and grab" with cutting off trousers, smashing things, cutting off hair, claiming to be "cleaning up the filth and muck," establishing their "great merit"; carrying on battles with others claiming "to use words for attack and weapons for defense"; saying that smashing the opposing organization was a "revolutionary activity" and a "worthwhile deed"; beating and kicking people and causing physical harm with the claim that "revolution is an act of violence"; saying that the "good people" beat the "bad people" because they deserve it, and so on. With the encouragement of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" "beating, smashing, stealing and grabbing" became the mark of bravery for an age and people like Wang Hongwen became the heroes of China during the 1960s. There were a number of these temperate and the petty ones became powerful for a while by fishing for gain and purchasing benevolence while the the bigger ones became officials and nobles and were extremely popular for a time. Their reactionary theories and evil examples directly destroyed some of the young people while their influence affected a whole generation of people. They took Wang Hongwen, Chen Ada [7115 7093 1129] and Huang Jintai [7206 6855 3132] as their models, enjoyed themselves, formed groups and engaged in beating, smashing and other evil behavior while calling this "revolution." Under our socialist

conditions they formed a fascist philosophy of force, a kind of reactionary heroism of power. Studies in a number of cities prove that these violent juvenile delinquents generally had a blind faith in "violence" believing that "whoever beats people is revolutionary" and that "whoever has powerful arms is revolutionary." In Tianjin there was one delinquent not yet even 18 years old whose experience was "the more severely I beat people the more others fear me and respect me and the more status I have." With this ideological support he ranged throughout seven wards of Tianjin with a force sometimes reaching over 200 people which committed many crimes.

Second: The Rise of the Evils of Individualism and the Spread of the Ideology of Wanton Personal Benefit

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were ambitious plotters and to realize their individual ambitions and to enjoy a bourgeois life-style there is no evil thing they would not do. They frequently used the most moving words and the most revolutionary phrases for concealment and carried out the vilest of deeds. In order to satisfy their material desires, no matter whether it was state, collective or individual property they would either just take them, publically steal them or even get them through deception and deceit. In order to realize their individual ambitions they would tell lies, manufacture rumors, deceive and dupe, twist the truth, form groups and gangs, grant positions and petitions, create favorable conditions and just do as they pleased. They advanced such perverse theories as "there is no truth at all to class struggle" and "we must lead the opposition into following the wrong path." Lin Biao had a slogan which read, "without lies no great deeds are accomplished." It was these ideologically corrupt and morally bankrupt brigands who became the models, stalwarts and "heroes" during the period of political chaos. To follow them was to be praised and encouraged and permitted to venture into high places while to oppose them was to invite disaster, suffer criticism and even endanger one's own life. They considered their personal pleasures and liberal expenditures of the people's lifesblood as their glory, proudly fought for power and self-interest, plotted for personal gain, vented their anger without the least bit of shame or fear, ran rampant over socialist morals and the grand revolutionary traditions and created an evil rise of individualism. The experiences of a Shanghai machine plant worker named Ju who has already transformed himself into an progressive young worker are representative of the times. He was not yet 16 when he entered the plant in 1969 and wanted to make progress. During the cultural revolution under the ideological poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" he joined the "rebel brigade" under the "workers general headquarters" and engaged in "beat, smash and grab" activities. After the "victory" he got a motor scooter and thus learned the lessons of the likes of Jiang Hongwen and Chen Ada that a "murderous" attitude toward society will provide all one's needs and he followed a life of crime, from breaking into sentry-posts and dining halls to stealing cars and wielding a knife. Youths who recently have embarked on the road to a life of crime will realize that although they have not personally experienced the chaos of the cultural revolution that in terms of ideology and manner they nonetheless are the heirs of the young criminals of the cultural revolution.

Third: The Rampage of Anarchistic Tides of Thought

During the cultural revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" usurped government power, wilfully trod upon all morals, ethics, laws and systems, brought absolute chaos to all normal social relationships, made everyone obey them, and bent the truth to serve their own interests. Everywhere they did as they wished without any restraints at all and in defiance of law. Parents could not control children, teachers could not teach children, masters could not lead their disciples and the upper levels could not lead the lower levels. Each person took care of himself and not took care of everyone. Such conditions made heads of households, schools and society powerless to do anything about the bad tendencies and socially abnormal behavior of young people. They watched the young people's declining moral standards, bad behavior and step by step march onto dangerous paths but were unable to apply any of the normal relationships to teach, lead, prevent, divert or warn them. An even more severe problem was the creation of youthful disrespect for the law and other institutions, all authority was bad, none was wanted, it could be resisted. Destruction was looked upon as a pleasure and the error of opposing the current order was seen as brave, heroic behavior. They felt that because they were young and of good status they were entitled to break the law, as they frequently broke the law to test it, all the while clearly aware of the illegality of their acts yet taking the chance and as a consequence committed serious crimes.

Fourth: Economic Destruction Resulted in Much Youthful Unemployment and Waiting for Employment.

During the ten years of chaos the national economy stagnated yet the economic turmoil sent several million more young people into society. Except for a small percentage of those who were qualified for further study, every year large numbers were unable to find employment and formed an unemployed contingent awaiting employment. This was a great problem. They had abundant energy but no work. They gradually grew older but had no income. They wanted to study but had no opportunity or wanted to continue their education but lacked the necessary foundation and confidence. They wanted a future but didn't know what would be the right future and so some of them worried and wondered while others became violent and destructive and began to live a life of evil. It is understood that among the Shanghai juvenile delinquents there were ten percent either out of work or awaiting employment. Statistics from some places show that one third of the juvenile delinquents were unemployed or were awaiting employment.

China is a richly populated and economically backward nation. Under the socialist system we had pretty much solved the employment problem. In the last two years the economic destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resulted in a large number of idle labor forces, actually a condition of unemployment. The only difference from capitalism was that for the majority of people their parents had

serious unemployment so that there were no great hardships. Nonetheless the nation had a large number of youths awaiting employment and this was an urgent problem requiring prompt solution. Studies in some provinces and cities show that in areas where there were relatively more youths awaiting employment, when this problem was handled the juvenile delinquency problem showed marked decreases. A study of 12,500 unemployed youths in Wuhan showed that before employment arrangements were made there were 21% criminals and that this dropped to 17% criminals after employment was arranged. In Suzhou the problem of youths awaiting employment was not severe and 13 of 15 gangs were broken up producing a 44.7 percent decrease in juvenile crime. This shows the importance of youth employment in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency.

A study of those who left the Shanghai youth training institute between 1972 and 1975 shows that those who left with employment were one third less likely to become involved in serious crimes. This clearly shows the great difference of having employment after training. After Yang Xincui left the youth institute of the south ward of Shanghai he was determined to correct his mistakes. However, this was in 1968 and he was met with contempt, coldness and derision. The political confusion was accompanied by economic decline so that Yang Xincui could not find work and had to endure both cold and hunger. In 1971 he managed to enter a neighborhood production group, but just at that time the "leftist" policies of the "gang of four" resulted in his not receiving one bit of compensation for his year of work. Society could provide no solutions so Yang Xincui again embarked upon a life of crime. If the "gang of four" had not been smashed it is unthinkable that Yang Xincui could ever have become a participant in the new long march of Shanghai light industry.

The destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also is behind many other reasons for the increase in juvenile delinquency, such as the closing of schools which resulted in youthful ignorance and stupidity. Widespread hard of hearts and intellectuals resulted in many broken families. There also was the reactionary theory of blood lineage.

Fifth: Inappropriate Family Influence and Parental Teaching

The family is the kernel of society and family influences and parental teaching play an important role in the maturation process. There is much proof that where the family structure is good, the relationships warm and intimate and where the parents place strict restraints and have proper supervision over their children there is little juvenile delinquency and social order is maintained. During the campaign of the "gang of four" the great majority of children were well behaved. This is because the great majority of parents had not forgotten their moral responsibilities. According to the mass principle we can see that in a great extent juvenile delinquency is related to family influences especially that of the parents. Although the blame cannot be absolutely be placed on the parents nevertheless the majority of parents cannot deny their responsibility. Statistics from a number of areas show that about 70 percent of the current juvenile delinquency is due to family causes.

Of the family influences which cause juvenile delinquency the main one is inappropriate parental teaching. According to statistics from some Shanghai work-study schools 24 percent of juvenile crimes are related to parental teaching and supervision. Where parental teaching and supervision are inappropriate this is demonstrated in two extremes. In one extreme there is an excess of indulgence, yielding to shortcomings, and overprotection. From childhood they become habituated to greed, self-indulgence and doing whatever they please and they become "little dictators" in the home. As they grow older their thinking does not undergo any criticism and their desires indiscriminately grow until the family is no longer able to satisfy them. Still they lack the sense of self-control and progress from being a "little dictator" in the home to being a "big wheel" in the neighborhood and finally becoming a juvenile delinquent. In a Beijing work-study school class of 20 people two were eldest children and 14 were "old trouble-makers," a total of 90 percent. The other extreme of family upbringing is to beat, curse, force and starve the children. The parents feel that "a heavy cudgel produces good children" with results opposite of those desired, causing an opposition between parents and children and eliminating all feelings from the family relationship. In some families the maltreatment of the children made them run away from home to make their own way and leading them to a life of crime. According to statistics from 101 juvenile delinquents in prison, 26 of them were from homes with the above conditions.

China has a huge working force and in most families both parents work so it usually happens that because of work and available energies the scientific education and strict supervision of the children are neglected. In addition, the state encourages planned parenthood to control population increases so there are more and more only children. In some way perhaps fully half the children are only children and this shows that concern over livability exceeds concern over ideology, morals and culture. Some parents mistakenly believe that to give a child adequate food and clothing releases their responsibility and this is a problem far-removed from attention. Parental teaching plays an important role in child rearing. Some parents say that the parents are the first teachers, the next enforcing teachers and the teachers who have understood their "students." Therefore, parents ought to look upon education of their children as a requested service to the state and society, as an undeniable moral obligation which requires the proper arrangement of time and energies. The study of correct methods of child raising, a coordination of effort with the schools and society and a strengthening of correct child education and upbringing.

Altogether The Special Effects of Art and Literature on the Education of Young People

A special characteristic of young people is that the speed of their physical and biological development has outstripped their intellectual development and their imaginative thought is more powerful than their logical thought. Literature, art, drama, movies, television and

fiction are of special influence and use in approaching this characteristic of the young mind. Good works are capable of leading and stimulating young people to make a revolutionary struggle for high ideals. Bad works can directly influence young people into harmful behavior. There was one young girl who originally was well behaved but then she later saw movies, television and plays and learned of such things as makeup, style, love, dancing, drinking and pleasures. She took her role models from foreign films and chased after a western lifestyle, finally embarking on a path of crime and counter-revolution. Therefore, because of this special influence, literature and propaganda must consider the social results and benefit the healthy development of young people. This point is not ours alone but is common to the world at large.

In order to minimize the increase of such harmful and corrupt ideology, and this is an even more important point, there must be powerful advocacy of healthy and beneficial amusements and physical activities, an abundance of extra-curricular activities for young people, provision of the maximum possible number of youth activity areas, a broadening of their vision and a nurturing of broad interests, hobbies and skills to lead their abundant youthful energies into areas which benefit their healthy maturation and benefit society.

In addition, smoking, gambling and drinking by the juvenile delinquents are habits which directly lead young people to crime. Studies in some areas show that of juveniles convicted of crimes 100 percent smoke, 90 percent gamble and 60 percent drink. The law, corrupt and vicious activities of some people began with drinking, gambling and smoking or grew as a result of smoking and drinking. Some people commit crimes because of gambling losses or to get gambling money and others steal money to buy cigarettes or simply steal cigarettes. After some juvenile delinquents have been reformed they sum up the lesson of their own experiences saying, "It started with poor study and was made final with a cigarette." Therefore, the cultivation of avoidance of smoking, gambling and drinking among young people is an important task in preventing lawlessness and corruption.

The Party Must Prevent and Reduce Juvenile Delinquency is Overall Supervision.

Juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem which touches every corner of society. The prevention and reduction of juvenile delinquency is a long-term strategic task. Therefore, it will not do to leave the solution of this problem to any one department or small group of personnel. We must demand an involvement of the entire party, coordination of all sides, overall implementation, attention to details and full use of the superiority of the socialist system. Discipline, law, administration, education, morals and law must all properly cultivate and mold our youth. The five factors of family, school, neighborhood, community and the government can form a fixed

cooperating entity, perhaps in the form of "overall supervision." This will be beneficial in vigorously protecting and ensuring the healthy development of our young people.

The enactment of a youth protection law would benefit the enforcement of some "overall supervision" measures with the strength of the law and they would be strongly carried out by government agencies. The focus of the youth protection law is to protect youth. There should be clearly written regulations stipulating the responsibilities and duties for all departments, groups and individuals to follow in protecting, nurturing and educating young people, and there also should be regulations for severe punishment for the poisoning or harm of young people. This will protect the healthy development of our young people.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

UNIVERSITY, MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS TO TEACH IN TIBET

Shanghai University Teachers

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai University Teachers Going To Help in Tibet Arrive Safely in Nyingchi"]

[Text] Special correspondent Chou Bingqian [07193521 2938] reports that the university teachers from Shanghai, who were going to take teaching positions at the Tibet Medical College, yesterday arrived in Nyingchi County, which is over 430 km from Lhasa and the location of the Tibet Medical College. The university teachers from Zhejiang who will help Tibet arrived together with them. The group of university teachers left Shanghai on 4 November and arrived in two groups on 16 November and 18 November in Lhasa. Because most of them are middle-aged teachers and are in the high plains for the first time, some were seriously affected by the high mountains. However, after a brief rest in Lhasa they were back to normal. Early on the morning of 20 November they left Lhasa for the 2-day drive on high mountain roads. They crossed the Mila Mountains, which are over 5,000 meters high, and on 21 November safely arrived at Tibet Medical College, which is located in one of the famous forest zones of the Tibet Autonomous Region, over 2,000 meters above sea level where the air is good.

'One-on-One' Tutoring System

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Chinese and Tibetan Middle School Teachers in Lhasa Start 'One-on-One' Tutoring System"]

[Text] Recently, the Bureau of Culture and Education in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region, decided to start a "one-on-one" tutoring system among Chinese and Tibetan middle school teachers.

Teachers helping Tibet who are working in Lhasa have more teaching experience and a high level of teaching ability. In order to fully develop this skill and have them train a group of teachers of the Tibetan nationality to have a high level of teaching ability during the time they are in Tibet, the Lhasa Municipal Bureau of Culture and Education decided to organize Chinese and Tibetan teachers in middle schools to begin "one-on-one" tutoring. To this end, they have done the following:

1. On the basis of voluntary sign-up and organizational principles, Chinese and Tibetan teachers of the same grade level and discipline were organized into pairs to carry out the tutoring through specific teaching activities.
2. In terms of form and content, Chinese and Tibetan teachers together studied and discussed the teaching aim of each section of the teaching materials, the points of emphasis and difficulty, the arrangement of classtime, teaching method and problems that should be noted in teaching. Then the Tibetan teachers wrote out lesson plans and the Chinese teachers corrected them, and finally they settled on a teaching plan together.
3. Middle schools will make this activity part of the normal teaching plan, and teachers who are carrying more than a normal load will be given appropriate help by the Bureau of Culture and Education.
4. The Bureau of Culture and Education will conduct regular inspections of this activity in middle schools, and will start assessments and competitions to commend and reward teachers whose teaching attitude is conscientious and who have evident results.

Middle School Teachers

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "More Than 500 Middle School Teachers From the Interior Head for Tibet To Take Up Teaching Posts"]

[Text] To further develop education in Tibet, recently another group of over 500 middle school teachers from the interior of China went to Tibet to assume teaching positions.

These middle school teachers from Sichuan, Jiangsu, Henan, Hunan, Hubei, Shandong, Liaoning and Shanghai are the fourth group of teachers who have gone to help Tibet in accordance with the directive of the Central Committee. The more than 1,100 teachers from these 8 provincial and municipal units who have in the past been sent to help out Tibet, in their work assumed responsibility for a large part of the teaching in middle schools which is emphasized by Tibet, and they have been the mainstay force in middle school education in Tibet.

After the Central Committee issued its directive on work in Tibet, the above mentioned eight provincial and municipal units' concerned sections considered teachers' work to help Tibet even more seriously. Ali District, where the conditions are very difficult and where there have never been any teachers to help Tibet, now has 45 teachers sent from Henan.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITY STUDENTS FROM XINJIANG PASS COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Over 2,000 Minority Students From Xinjiang Pass College Entrance Examinations"]

[Text] This year 2,134 children of minorities in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region passed the entrance examinations for college. This is the largest number of Xinjiang minority children to pass since the higher education examinations were reinstated nationally.

New students from the 11 minorities of Uighur, Kazakh, Mongol, Tibetan, Uzbek, Tajik, Kirghiz, Daghor, Tatar, Sibo and Russian constituted over 52 percent of the new students enrolled in institutions of higher education in Xinjiang. New students from other national minorities were also enrolled. Thus, minorities in Xinjiang have their own university students.

In addition, over 340 minority children from Xinjiang this year passed entrance examinations for universities in the interior. Malati [7456 2139 2251], a student of Kazakh nationality from the First Middle School of Red Flag Commune in Jeminay County and Paerhati Kuerban [1584 1422 0761 2251 1655 1422 3803], a student of the Uighur nationality from the Third Middle School in Kaxgar took the examinations in their native languages and earned scores of 455 and 380, respectively, and became the first of the minority students in the physics and literature examinations and have both been enrolled in the Central Nationalities College. Mulati [2606 2139 2251], a Uighur middle school student from Urumchi, and Jainure [035 0505 3583], a Kazakh middle school student from the Akesu District, took the examination in Chinese with scores of 358 (physics) and 354 (literature) and have been enrolled in the China University of Science and Technology and Beijing University, respectively.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MINORITY STUDENT TRAINING--Quangxi-Zhuang Autonomous Region has adopted special measures to train minority students. Now, concerned sections of the autonomous regions have recruited from the border and mountain areas 400 minority students to attend 5 middle schools with good foundations, 300 minority students to attend minority classes at 4 middle level hygiene schools. In addition, 200 minority students have been recruited for preparatory classes at Guangxi Nationality College. While they are studying, these minority students will all receive stipends, texts, teaching materials and clothing and mosquito netting and other necessities provided by the people's government. At the same time, concerned sections of the autonomous region have decided that minority students in country seat middle schools in eight minority autonomous counties in the region will have restored the stipends and other considerations they enjoyed before the Great Cultural Revolution. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1] 8226

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